

# THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



THE VIRGIN BIRTH. By Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey

Recent Humanistic Legislation in New Zealand

By EDWARD TREGEAR, Secretary for Labor for New Zealand

Has Municipal Ownership in Great Britain Proved a Failure?

Yes! By H. GARDNER MCKERROW. No! By PROF. FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.



GORDON MARRIOTT  
The Hero of "The Turn of the Balance."

# THE TURN OF THE BALANCE

BY BRAND WHITLOCK

BRAND WHITLOCK'S first novel, "The Thirteenth District," has been called by President Roosevelt, former President Cleveland and Mr. William Dean Howells, "The best American political story that has ever been written."

"The Turn of the Balance" is more remarkable and important. It constitutes a tremendous arraignment of the law as it is administered in America to-day—a vivid picture of the savage cruelty at the heart of our boasted civilization. It is a book revealing everywhere the author's wonderful knowledge of all classes of society from the great and the rich to the miserably poor and the hounded criminal.

Seven pictures by Jay Hambidge

\$1.50 Postpaid

The BOBBS-MERRILL CO., Publishers

A Most Valuable Work on Public Ownership of Public Utilities, Direct Legislation and Municipal Home Rule.

# THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE

By Prof. Frank Parsons, Ph.D.

This work will be found indispensable by students of municipal questions and should be added to their libraries at once.

"This volume is an arsenal of facts for social reformers, and an arsenal so well ordered that to find the right weapon never requires more than a moment's search."—*The Outlook*.

"In this volume Professor Parsons deals with the question of municipal ownership of public utilities in an exceptionally thorough manner. Professor Parsons has for years given special attention to the facts connected with municipal experiments in all parts of the United States. . . . On all controverted questions the author makes numerous references to leading authorities, and throughout his book the sources of information are fully stated. . . . It is a book which no one interested in the improvement of the city government in the United States can well do without."—*Review of Reviews*.

Cloth bound. 704 pages, Royal Octavo. Fully indexed. \$1.00; by mail, \$1.25.

Send Orders to "THE ARENA" MAGAZINE, TRENTON, N. J.

N  
E  
W  
K

hirteenth  
oosevelt  
n Dean  
has ever

able and  
nt of the  
d picture  
ilization  
onderful  
and the  
nal.

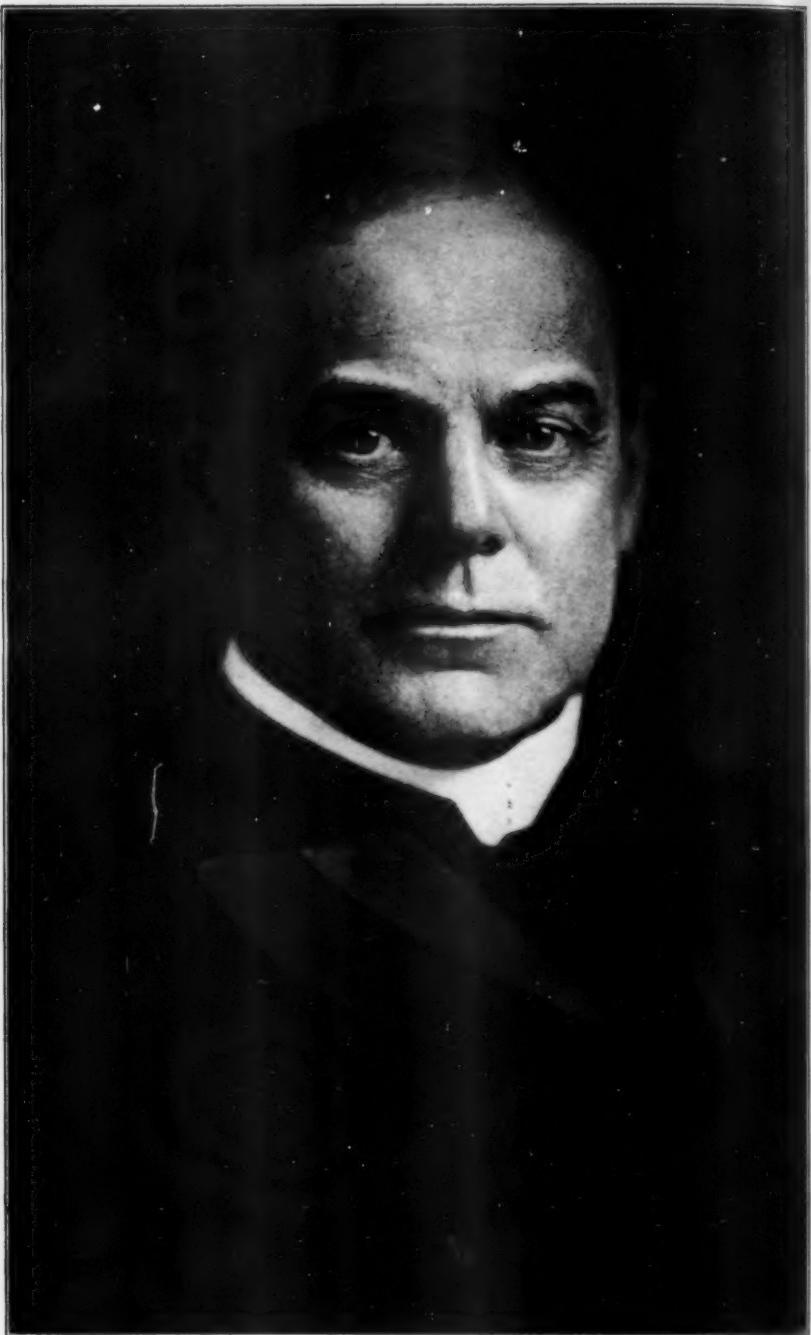
e

ishers

ad

ne

d  
k.  
f  
s  
e  
o  
i



REV. ALGERNON SIDNEY CRAPSEY

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

---

VOL. 37

APRIL, 1907

No. 200

---

## THE HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH.

BY REV. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY.

THE CAREFUL reader of that portion of Christian literature which follows immediately upon the New Testament cannot help remarking a very significant fact. Let him read the Epistles of Clement, the Pastor of Hermas, the Epistle to Diognetus, and the other writings contained in the volume known as The Apostolic Fathers, and he will be perplexed to find that in all these writings there is not a mention of the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of God, until he reaches the end of the volume and finds a solitary reference to Mary in the Epistles of St. Ignatius.

Any one imbued with the catholic conception of the origin of Christ cannot fail to be perplexed by this failure to find any reference to His supernatural origin in these writers who lived so near to His own time. It may be said, and it has been said, that it did not lie within the purpose of these writers to dwell upon the fact of the Lord's miraculous conception and birth. In a measure this is true. One can explain the silence of the Epistles of Clement by the statement that Clement was not dealing at all with the subject of the Lord's origin; but this explanation is not sufficient to account

for the silence of other writers in the same series. There are two, especially, upon whom it was really incumbent that they should make mention of this fact, if it were a fact, in order to deal honestly with their readers.

The most precious fragment of Christian literature which has come down to us from the period immediately following upon that of the New Testament writings is the Epistle to Diognetus. The writer of this letter is seeking to give his friend information concerning the belief and the manner of life of the Christian community. He is an educated man, well read in the philosophy of his time, wholly capable of comprehending the full import of the teachings of his own religion and comparing them with the doctrines prevailing in the outside world. The whole purpose of this writing is, as I have said, to inform his friend. It was therefore necessary that he should give a full account of what was believed by his coreligionists and himself, and he asserts that he does so. He treats fully of the doctrine of Christ as the revelation of God. He is well acquainted with the conception of the Logos and treats of that with some fullness. But nowhere

does he make the slightest allusion to or give any intimation of a miraculous origin for the physical nature of Christ. The name of the mother of God does not occur in his letter. This silence cannot be the silence of prudence. There was no reason why the story of the birth of Jesus as it came to be received later should be suppressed. There was every reason for telling it. If the very body of Jesus were a direct and divine creation, it would be an additional argument to prove His divine nature and His divine mission. And yet this careful writer and thinker makes no mention of it at all. We are forced to the conclusion that he either did not know or did not believe the stories of the prenatal history of Jesus which came to be prevalent in the Christian Church.

Turning from this writer to one belonging to an entirely different school, we find the same absence of reference in that most popular work at the time of its publication, the *Pastor of Hermas*. The Epistle to Diognetus represents and embodies the sober sense of the early Christian community. The *Pastor of Hermas* is the product of the more irrational enthusiastic spirit that prevailed at the time. It is filled with references to the coming of Jesus, to the millennium, and is wild with excitement and extravagant in the use of allegory and imagery. It is just such a book in which you would expect to find a full account of the miraculous creation of Jesus in the bosom of the Blessed Mother. It is, indeed, a fore-runner of such stories; but in this book you find no allusion, direct or indirect, to the mother of Jesus and no account whatever of His birth in Bethlehem, nor to any of the narratives that cluster round that birth in our present Gospels. We are therefore forced to the conclusion again that these stories were not current among the believers at the time that the *Pastor of Hermas* was written. It is not until we reach the end of the period and come to the second or third decade of the second century that we begin to hear

tell of the coming of an angel to announce to a virgin that she, the virgin, shall conceive and bear a son.

Now when once this state of affairs has become a part of our intellectual life, we begin to inquire concerning the origin of the stories of the Infancy and whether we have in those stories the history of an actual occurrence.

Reading backward from the post-Apostolic writings to the Apostolic writings themselves, we are surprised to find the same policy of suppression prevailing in the one period as in the other. The Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, which would lend itself most readily to such accounts of the physical origin of Jesus as we have in the Infancy stories, makes no mention of them or allusion to them. It would seem impossible that such a book should not contain such stories if they were extant at the time of its writing. We find a like reticence in the letters of John, of Peter and of Paul. It does not matter whether these epistles are the genuine product of the minds to which they are assigned. Whether they be so or not, they are evidences to the belief of the writers of these documents and to the belief of the church at the time these documents were received as of Apostolic authority and origin. That they should contain no reference whatever to any supernatural physical origin of the Lord and Master of Christian thought and life seems to be conclusive evidence that such supernatural physical origin was not a part of the equipment of the Christian community at the time that these letters were written and became current. Not only do they fail to mention the fact of supernatural origin, but they assert the contrary.

The Epistles of Paul assign to Jesus the highest possible place in the spiritual economy of the universe. He is the archetypal man, the man who as Ideal dwelt from all eternity in the very being of God; and yet St. Paul assigns to this man a human origin. He is not simply the product of Divine grace, but He is

also the product of a human seed. Paul was a master of language and a gifted thinker, and when he used, as he did again and again, the term "seed" in reference to the physical origin of Jesus, he clearly taught that the masculine element as well as the feminine was active in the human origin and fleshly development of the physical nature of Jesus. He says again and again, "He is of the seed of David, according to the flesh," and he claims for Jesus the Messiahship on that ground. He is the Christ because He is the seed of David. In this St. Paul follows teaching earlier than his own. His doctrine of the Christ was not original; it was derived from the Primitive Church. He is here at one with Peter.

Peter, who more than any other is the founder of historical Christianity and who was in close personal relation with Jesus, seems to have had no knowledge whatever that Jesus was other than he seemed to be—a man like himself. Jesus was his spiritual Lord and Master and came to be for him the Christ or Messiah of God, because he saw in Jesus those qualities which commended themselves to him as being such qualities as one would look for in the chosen servant of God. He never, to our knowledge, refers at all to any other than a natural origin for his Master. It is true that we have no direct testimony coming from the chief of the Apostles, unless it be the first Epistle that goes by his name, and that would have no particular bearing upon the subject under consideration, because, as in the Epistles of Clement, he was not called, by the nature of the discussion, to make direct reference to the matter of the Lord's birth. But we have Christian literature that is assigned by tradition to Petrine influence, if not the direct work of the Apostle himself, and which undoubtedly reflects the thought of those who were influenced by the teaching of Simon son of Jonas.

The Gospel of Mark is said to have been written for the purpose of preserv-

ing to the Church the tradition which was embodied in the teachings of Peter. Whether it does this or not, it certainly contains the earliest form of Christian teaching and Christian belief concerning the Master. It is therefore of great evidential value in determining the question as to what was the notion of those who were nearest to the event, of the event itself. Now it is known to every reader of this Gospel that it does not contain the stories of the Infancy. It begins the history of Jesus with the Baptism. It not only implies, it asserts, that He was the son of the carpenter of Nazareth. It speaks naturally of His mother and His brothers and sisters. It assigns no place of distinction to the mother. As we shall see a little later, on the contrary, it gives her an unenviable place in Christian history. The silence of Mark cannot be set aside by saying that he was not called upon to preserve for the Christian Church the full history of the Lord. It was his bounden duty as a chronicler such as he set out to be, to give to the Christian community for which he was writing, all the knowledge of the great Master that he possessed. He either, then, did not know the stories which are recorded in other Gospels, or else he rejected them as not having any warrant in fact.

The book of the Acts of the Apostles also reveals the mind of Peter. In the first chapters of the book Peter is the central figure, does the most of the talking, and in urging upon his hearers the fact that Jesus is the promised Christ, he bases his argument upon the further fact that Jesus is the son of David; and if it be not true that Jesus was descended in the male line, according to Hebrew custom, from the son of Jesse, all the Pentecostal reasoning of Peter falls to the ground. This again is evidence that cannot be controverted, that in that early period, which is held to be the period of special inspiration, the preacher of Christianity did not consider it necessary to base the Divine mission of Jesus upon any other ground than His natural de-

scent, through the male line, from His father David.

Now, turning away from Peter and Paul, who are in accord in thus claiming for Jesus Davidic descent as a necessary qualification for the Messianic office, to John, known in history as the Beloved Disciple, we find that he takes a somewhat different view. It is true, again, that we have no direct word from John himself bearing upon the question, because the Gospel that goes by his name is undoubtedly not of his authorship. It was inspired by him, it contains the tradition which had its origin in him, but it is not of his workmanship. It, however, does not lose on this account its evidential value. It does tell us what was the general conception of Jesus held by the Asiatic churches at the time that this writing came into vogue, and also the general opinion during the time that the Johannean tradition was taking form. We do not need to consider the Epistles of John, because they have no distinct bearing upon the matter in dispute. The Gospel of John, however, is perhaps the most important of all the documents which we possess in relation to the doctrine of the miraculous birth of Jesus. This Gospel is not historical; it is theological in its character. It is not the history of Christ; it is an interpretation of Christ. It makes history altogether subordinate to doctrinal and philosophical considerations. It sees in Jesus the Greek Logos, the Divine Word, that mediates between the absolute God and conditioned humanity. Jesus, however, in this Gospel, is an historical character, not a mere theological abstraction or philosophical conception. He was born, He lived, and He died. Notwithstanding His transcendental nature, He had a human history. The history is, indeed, subordinated to unhistoric conceptions and conditions, but in spite of this, the history is a real history, and the Gospel of John coincides with the Gospel of Mark in beginning the history with the Baptism. Jesus is spoken of with per-

fect naturalness as Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph, and this not only once, but twice. And throughout the whole Fourth Gospel the Bethlehem tradition and the miraculous conception are utterly ignored. John takes the view of Mark, that the descent of the Holy Ghost at the Baptism was the occasion and the mode whereby Jesus became Christ, the Anointed of the Lord, and whereby He was gifted with the Divine Logos. However heretical and imperfect in the view of later theology this conception may be, no reader of the Gospel of John can fail to come to the conclusion that this was his thought and his belief. The Word which was of eternal import and of eternal life was not the birthright of Jesus, it was His peculiar gift, coming to Him through supernatural grace at the time of His baptism. Had the writer of the Fourth Gospel known the Infancy stories, he must have cast them aside as being wholly unnecessary for the development of his doctrine that Jesus was the Incarnation of the Word of God. Had he known them and considered them necessary, he would certainly have made use of them. A man of his genius would never have overlooked so important a contribution to his own theory and thought if he had knowledge of it or had considered it germane. We are therefore forced again to say that the silence of John cannot be put aside as irrelevant. It is not simply silence; it is contrary assertion. The writer of John did not hold that Jesus was of miraculous conception; he held that He came in the way of nature and that Joseph was His father.

Now if we take up the two remaining documents that have to do with the origin of Christ, the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, we find in them a more complex problem. Any careful reader of either of these Gospels will see that in the body of the writings they coincide with Mark. They have so much in common with Mark that it is quite impossible to believe that they did not have Mark before them, or some anterior authority com-

mon to Matthew, Mark and Luke. The basis of the First and Third Gospels is the great common tradition. In those Gospels we find, with certain softening expression, the same declaration that Jesus is the son of the carpenter. No place of honor is assigned to Mary, His mother, but just the contrary. His brothers are spoken of naturally. It is clear, from the reading of the three Gospels together, that Jesus had no sympathy in His own household. If His mother knew of the fact of His supernatural origin, and if the Gospels give us anything like a true account of her attitude toward her Son, then her knowledge had no influence whatever upon her attitude. Whenever she comes upon the witness-stand to bear testimony, she always declares that her son was also the son of her husband, either by direct assertion or by implication. In the three Gospels we have the statement that Jesus Himself complained bitterly that a prophet is not without honor except in his own house, among his own kin and in his own city. There is a melancholy bitterness in this that proves that it was a true utterance of the great Master. He felt most keenly that lack of appreciation which is always the lot of an extraordinary man born in the midst of ordinary people. The commonplace cannot comprehend the unusual, and therefore the unusual always suffers from the coldness and hostility of the commonplace. Jesus the spiritual genius, the man to whom spiritual truth was an intuition, could find no sympathy among those who were simply the children of the written law, and His complaint is as natural as it is true, and it is historic evidence, the more conclusive because it is indirect, that the household of Jesus knew nothing of the wonders that in later times surrounded His birth and infancy. The mother herself seems altogether unconscious of any unwonted circumstance in connection with her son. She, together with His brothers and sisters, does not believe on Him when He takes up His great work of teaching and

saving the people. He had no sooner entered upon this work and attracted the attention of the world, than she, together with the rest of the family, looked upon Him as a madman and went out and sought to lay hold on Him and take Him back to the seclusion and safety of His home. We cannot ignore these facts without altogether discrediting the three Gospels as historic authority. Later Christian thought, to which Jesus was the very Son of God, would never have ascribed such sentiments to those who were nearest him. As soon as legend began to work, the mother of Jesus began to take a high place in the economy of Christian doctrine. To think of her as looking upon her Son as one who was mad and, as it were, possessed of a demon, would have been sacriligious to the later thought and imagination of the Christian world, as it is considered sacriligious today; but nevertheless it was a fact.

There is in the Gospel of Luke a fragment which has come down to us from the very earliest period, which evidently belongs to the first strata of Christian tradition, and which is really the only glimpse that has come to us of the history of Jesus prior to the Baptism. That is contained in the account of the journey to Jerusalem at the time that Jesus was twelve years old. The absence of all supernatural element in this account proves its early origin. Devout imagination was just then beginning to take hold of the life of Jesus as material for mythological and legendary creation. In this story all is natural. The parents of Jesus come with him to the Temple. The lad is at the opening of that period of human life when the soul becomes conscious of itself. He is full of that eagerness and freshness which the wonder of the world then inspires. The parents go through the ordinary forms required at the Passover feast, and go their way; but Jesus tarries behind, in the Temple, eager to hear from the doctors some explanation of the Law and the Prophets; of the nature of God and

His relation to men, with which questions His soul is in a turmoil. His parents, missing Him and not finding Him among their kin-folk and acquaintances, turn back seeking Him, and at last find Him in the temple in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. And His mother says to Him: "Son, why hast Thou thus dealt with us? Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing." In all this narrative the parents of Jesus are spoken of in the most natural manner, and the mother of Jesus speaks of Joseph as His father, without reserve or concealment. It is a far-fetched explanation to say that she at this time was keeping the family secret. Taken together with the other evidences that we find in the Gospel, of the relation of Jesus to His own household, we are compelled to the conviction that the family secret was a later invention and had no foundation in fact.

We have now to deal with those two documents preserved to us from primitive times, which deal directly with the origin and infancy of Jesus. These are the introductory chapters of Matthew and Luke. Let us deal with Luke first. Luke does not pretend to be an eye-witness; he simply gathers and arranges that which has been handed down by what he calls "eye-witnesses of the Word." As we have seen, the foundation of his Gospel is the common tradition. The introductory chapters are wholly his own. They give an account of what occurred prior to the conception and at the birth of Jesus. This account is highly poetical in its nature, is full of unhistorical matter and is plainly the creation, not of the faculty of observation, but of the faculty of imaginative thought or fancy. It begins with an account of the family of John, the forerunner of Jesus, and it ascribes to him a birth semi-miraculous. John, like Isaac, is the son of very old parents, who are past the time of life for breeding and the bearing of children. It is, then, the Holy Spirit of God who gives life to the seed of Zacharias and

power to Elizabeth to conceive; and the appearance of the angel to Zacharias and the consequent dumbness of the priest, and the after events connected with the birth of John, are equally legendary and poetical in their nature.

Let us at this present juncture call attention to the fact that Luke in his Infancy stories embodies four hymns, poetical creations second to none in religious literature. These are written in exactly the same style; they are adaptations of Hebrew psalmody and are conclusively the offspring of the same poetical genius. Yet Luke ascribes one of these to Zacharias, a very old man; another of these to Simeon, likewise an aged man; another to an angel just come down out of heaven, lighting on the earth; and another to Mary, a maiden of fifteen or sixteen years old. That there should have been at that time four lyric poets of such genius, one of which was an angel, prior to that time unacquainted with human speech, is so improbable that it cannot be held upon evidence no more conclusive than that which we have. The writer makes use of a liberty which at that time was unquestioned, of ascribing his own productions to his heroes and heroines. The message of the angel to the Virgin is clothed in the same poetical form. The purpose is to give to Jesus a more noble origin than that of John. Not only does the primeval Life Spirit quicken the seed of man, but it takes the place of that seed itself. This is a purely poetical conception and was used by the writer to satisfy the growing belief that Jesus, being greater than other men, must have been different in His origin.

In Luke's account Nazareth is the home of Joseph and Mary prior to the conception of Jesus; it has always been their home. In order to have Jesus born in Bethlehem, and so satisfy the Bethlehem tradition, "that thus it must be," Luke employs a machinery to bring Joseph and Mary down to Bethlehem. He predicates an enrollment of the whole Roman citizenship, decreed by Caesar

Augustus, and he predicates a requirement that every Hebrew should be enrolled in the city in which his family originally lived. This enrollment requires that Joseph, who was of the house and lineage of David, should go to the city of David, his ancestor of some four or five hundred years before. Such a decree for the enrollment of the whole citizenship of the Roman world, and even for the more limited Hebrew world, is not sufficiently established as an historic fact to give it any weight. There was an enrollment some ten or twelve years later than this, in the Province of Syria, of which Judea was a part, but it was not required that the people should go to their ancestral home, but every man was enrolled where he lived. Therefore we cannot place any great value upon the Bethlehem story as it is reported to us by Luke.

The birth of Jesus, the song of the angels, the worship of the shepherds, the carrying of Jesus into the Temple, His recognition as the Christ by Simeon and Anna, are all peculiar to Luke, and they have this characteristic: The birth of Jesus was heralded as a joyful event. All was peaceful. There was no dread in the heart of anybody that this birth would excite the fear and anger of Herod. There was no disturbance in Jerusalem. The child Jesus was the center for the time being of such events as must have called attention to Him. All Jerusalem must have heard, if it had been true, of His recognition by the great prophet and priest. The shepherds must have made known the wonderful song from the angelic visitation. It could not have been difficult, if we had been dealing with history, for Herod and his court to have known just where and when Jesus was born. And the account in Luke allows for no other historic events than those which it records. It says that when they had accomplished all things according to the law, they returned to their own city, Nazareth. The poetical character of this document and its unhistorical

elements discredit it, in the absence of other proof, as a record of historical fact. The historical student naturally classes it with the legendary and mythological rather than with the historical literature of the world.

Turning from Luke to Matthew, we find an account upon a much lower plane. Luke is poetical; his contribution to Christian literature and Christian thought is of inestimable value. We shall sing the song of the angels, and the song of Simeon, and Mary's Magnificat, as long as time endures. While it is not historically true, it is so magnificently and splendidly spiritually true, that the spirit of man will find in these songs its best expression forever.

But Matthew is not poetic; it is dull prose. The introductory part of Matthew is so clearly the work of a different hand from that of the body of the Gospel, that we are forced to so hold it to be. It is imbedded with some violence into a document to which it has no organic relation. The birth story itself is, as we have said, on a very low plane. It becomes more physical and sensual. It is nearly related to those accounts of the intercourse of the gods with the daughters of men which are so frequent in heathen mythology. It does, indeed, make use of the term "Holy Ghost," but the Holy Ghost takes directly the place of the physical father, and all is wrapped in secrecy. A husband is perplexed, and the life of a virgin is brought into peril, because it was found necessary on the part of a divine being to violate the law of generation and to break in upon the sanctity of the marriage relation. All this is not only perplexing, it is shocking to the devout imagination. We ask naturally: Why this secrecy? Why, if it were necessary, should not Joseph have known beforehand, or why Joseph at all? The whole matter is based upon a belief in dreams and has about it the taint not only of the old pagan sensuality, but also of Oriental mysticism. The atmosphere that surrounds the birth is totally differ-

ent from that which envelopes the account of Luke. Not Nazareth, as in Luke, but Bethlehem is the natural home of Joseph and Mary prior to the event. Bethlehem has always been their home. It is the event that breaks it up. Oriental mysticism and Oriental influence are seen in the heralding of the Star and in the procession of the Magi. Not peace but war surrounds the cradle of Jesus. Jerusalem is stirred by the coming of the Magi and Herod fears. The Magi follow the Star, commune with the high priests and with Herod, and go their way. The foiled king in his insane fear decrees the death of the children of Bethlehem. To escape this death the parents of Jesus flee with Him into Egypt, and when they return, through fear again they turn aside from their old home in Bethlehem and go to sojourn in a strange city and a strange land.

In all these respects Luke and Matthew are mutually exclusive. If one account is true, the other cannot be. Matthew bases his account upon the ancient prophecy. These things were done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the prophets. The miraculous birth is founded upon the prophecy of Isaiah, which reads, according to Matthew, "A virgin shall conceive"; but it is evident that there was no such thought in the prophet's mind. That has now become the commonplace of Scriptural knowledge and does not need elaboration. Nor do any other of the passages used in this document interpret rightly the prophecy which they quote to sustain their history. History has been adapted to prophecy; prophecy did not foretell the history. So the Matthew document as well as the Luke is so involved in historical improbability, so unsustained by any other authority, that it cannot of itself sustain the weight that is placed upon it. Having these documents alone as our direct evidence, we must at least bring in the verdict, "Not proven," and therefore must allow any one to hold that Jesus was born as we are born and was the child not only of

a human mother, but also of a human father.

Strange to say, the documents which contain the birth stories also embody the genealogies of Jesus, and these genealogies trace the origin of Jesus, according to the Hebrew method, through the male line; Matthew from Abraham to Joseph, Luke from Adam to Joseph. Now these genealogies are without significance if Joseph have no organic relation to Jesus. When they were compiled, it was without doubt the belief of the Christian community that Joseph begat Jesus, just as Abraham begat Isaac. When the later belief came in, there was a clumsy adaptation of each of these genealogies to the birth stories in which they were contained. Joseph was then spoken of, not as the one who begat Jesus, but as the husband of Mary of whom was born Jesus called Christ. That this is a later reading has long been the belief of scholars. This belief has now become certainty since the discovery of the Syriac manuscripts and other authorities, in which an older reading is found—in the Syriac especially—that Joseph begat Jesus; so that the genealogies bear witness to a belief current earlier than that of the birth stories.

We have not space in this article to go at length into the probable origin of the birth stories, but they certainly belong to a period not earlier than the end of the first decade of the second century. They did not obtain credence until the Christian religion had ceased to be in the keeping of the Hebrew and had passed over into the custody of the Greek. The birth stories are paralleled again and again in antiquity. The like events are related of the birth of Buddha, and all the heroes of the primeval world were the sons of the gods. It was a natural instinct on the part of Christians living in such a thought-world to claim for their great Hero an origin equally divine. Justin Martyr, who is the first writer to dwell at any length upon this matter of virgin origin, parallels it with the origin of Phœbus, the son of Apollo. Jesus is

reduced by this reasoning to a plane which makes Him the equal, and only the equal, of the divine heroes who are antecedent to Him. Later theological speculation ascribes these stories of ancient times to diabolical invention, but the historical student is of the opinion, and more than that, of the positive conviction, that the diabolical inventions are the source of the pious invention that followed later; that we have the source of the birth stories in the thought-world that generated them. Jesus Himself knew nothing of them. He never differentiates Himself from His fellowmen. He uses the terms "My Father" and "Your Father" in exactly the same sense. His difference from them was the common difference of greater soul, and not any difference of physical origin. His dearest friends and closest companions never heard from His lips apparently any story that led them to look upon Him other than as one who was of their own flesh and blood. And what Jesus Himself did not know, and what was never heard of by His friends and companions, can hardly have the force of an historical fact.

The application of the historical method to the study of the New Testament Scriptures is of very recent origin, and because of that, there is to-day a disturbance in many minds and an aching in many hearts. To many the personality of Jesus is so bound up with His supposed miraculous origin, that if you take that away Jesus Himself seems to be taken with it. Sentiment has so clustered around the Babe of Bethlehem that a shock to that sentiment is a pain to the very inner soul life of many people, especially women. But alas! science takes no account of sentiment. It simply seeks for the truth in the case. It cuts sharp as ice; it is as pitiless as the glacier. It grinds down through all layers of earth, destroying, it is true, some beautiful vegetation in its course, but it grinds down to the hard bottom fact and having reached that rock, there abides.

It is not too much to say that history as a science has already reached the rock-bottom conclusion that Jesus is the son of Joseph and was born in Nazareth. Those who argue the contrary base their argument more upon supposed philosophic and theological necessity than upon historic evidence. But to the confusion of such reasoning, historic science takes no account of philosophic or theological necessity. You must first establish the fact, and then you may reason upon it. If you cannot establish the fact, all reasoning based upon it comes to naught. It is the fact that stands or falls.

The weakness of those who would sustain the until-recently prevalent conception of the origin of Jesus is seen in the suggestion of very learned men, that in the story of Matthew we have the account as given by Joseph; that in the story of Luke we have the account as given by Mary. Such a suggestion, if it were not made by authorities so eminent, would be palpably absurd. There is not a scintilla of historic evidence to support this suggestion. As we have seen, Mary, whenever she speaks, declares the contrary to the received belief, and Joseph throughout the whole literary period, is silent with the silence of death. This suggestion becomes the more impossible after we have examined the discrepancies in the accounts. Surely Mary and Joseph ought to have agreed together before giving an account of so important a transaction as to whether they did or did not live in Nazareth; whether or not that was so much their home that their sojourn in Bethlehem was a mere visitation. They ought also to have agreed as to whether they did or did not go down into Egypt. Luke clearly implies that they did not; Matthew asserts that they did. The slightest use of the historic method in the investigation of the birth stories turns to nonsense all such supposed evidence.

Whether it be to our grief, or to our joy, we must all come sooner or later to

the conclusion that the child Jesus of the birth stories belongs to the region of myth; while the man Jesus belongs to the region of history. We are in the estate of those who in losing a child find a man. The man Jesus is organically related to human life by means of human generation. He belongs to that race which has passed its life on, by a process marvelous to the point of what, if you please, you may call miraculous, from father to son, through countless generations. Luke is right when he makes Jesus the son of Adam, and makes the word Adam to stand for man. Organically related

through physical origin to the race of men, Jesus is historically related to human development. Scientific history does not see in Him an absolutely new beginning, but it sees Him in His connection with the whole religious history of the human race; and so relating him, the Christian religion is seen in its true aspect, as one of the great movements that have carried man from lower to higher planes of being. Some of us are content to lose the child in order to find the man.

ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY.  
Rochester, N. Y.

## REV. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY AND THE RECENT HERESY TRIAL.

BY HARRIS ADDISON CORELL.

"When there is no vision the people perish."—*Proverbs, 29:18.*

**O**VERORGANIZATION to the point of self-aggrandizement has always been the history of religious movements when they have departed ever so little from the elemental simplicity of serving common humanity. Mankind has at heart certain needs and desires which only true religion can supply, and which change but slightly from age to age. "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God," constitutes the working formula of the vital religion that underlies his nature. The church which goes beyond this and imposes an artificial organization, with manifold requirements as to creed, ritual, ceremony, form, and ecclesiastical machinery, as essential to human salvation, either for this or for any after-life, sows the seeds of its own downfall.

The function of a prophet or seer is not to picture in detail what is to come to pass, but to see in the signs of the times that some event is sure to follow existing conditions. Prophets have always arisen

from obscurity when the priestly class, grown arrogant and selfish, has neglected the common people and given its energy to its organization for its own sake. History has ever repeated itself in this respect. All the Old Testament prophets had this one message,—to rescue religion from a corrupt priesthood, and return it to the people simplified and purified. The protest of John the Baptist and of Jesus was against the "generation of vipers who made of the house of prayer a den of thieves." And it was Jesus who said to the woman of Samaria, "God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

Heresy trials are but the futile attempts of the priestly class to suppress the prophet. They may for a time crush truth to the earth, but in the end the organization itself must reform or die. It usually dies.

Within the last year we have seen such a heresy trial with all the ear-marks of the "dark ages," and all for what? Simply because a humble parish priest dared to worship God in spirit and in

truth, and to teach his people so, instead of teaching them according to the literal words of the man-made creeds of 1500 years ago.

DR. CRAPSEY, THE HERETIC.

Destined to deliver a great denomination from the fetters of dogmatism, but himself deposed and disgraced by a diocesan court, and denied the privilege longer of preaching from the pulpit where for over a quarter of a century he had spent the best years of his mature manhood, Dr. Algernon Sidney Crapsey has been thrust out of his ministry into the great surging mass of humanity to deliver his message not in accustomed places nor to familiar faces, but in strange places, in theaters, on lecture-platforms, in distant cities, never speaking twice to the same audience, but reaching thousands through the press, whereas in the days of his rectorship of St. Andrew's church in Rochester, he ministered to a few hundred souls in an obscure parish.

He loved this parish, which he had built up from almost nothing to a membership of over 600 regular communicants. The Protestant Episcopal faith was dear to him in its larger, broader significance. To him the weightier matters of the divine law, judgment, mercy, and faith, had always made a far stronger appeal than had the mint, anise, and cummin of the scribes and Pharisees. His ministrations had always been those of mercy and helpfulness. He visited the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and kept himself unspotted from the world.

It is told of him that he had such a way of giving his overcoat to any unfortunate man whom he saw cold and shivering in the blasts of winter, that the precinct police captain notified his men to be on the watch, and if they saw the "little father," as he was familiarly called, bestowing his ulster on some mere pretending rascal, they were to rescue it and secretly return it to the rectory.

Even his accusers on his heresy trial

admitted in open court that his character so far as his daily life is concerned is of the very highest. His offense consisted in the fact that to certain utterances of the creed he gave a spiritual, in place of a literal, interpretation. This cannot be more clearly stated than in his own words, quoted from his letter to Bishop William D. Walker, after the court of review had decided against him. He said:

"My sole difficulty lies in the fact that a long, careful, conscientious study of the Holy Scriptures, had compelled me to come to certain conclusions concerning the prenatal history of Jesus which are not in physical accord with the letter of the creeds, and hence have compelled me, in order to hold the creeds, to give certain articles a spiritual interpretation that will harmonize them with the truth as I find that truth in the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and as are demanded by present conditions of thought and the present state of knowledge. I must give to certain articles a spiritual rather than a literally physical interpretation.

"When I say of Jesus that he ascended into heaven, I do not mean and cannot mean that with his physical body of flesh, blood, and bones he floated into space, and has for 2,000 years been existing somewhere in the sky in that very physical body of flesh, blood and bones. Such an existence would seem to me not glorious but horrible; and such a conception is to me not only unbelievable, it is unthinkable.

"What I do mean by the phrase is that Jesus, having accomplished his work in the flesh, ascended into the higher life of the spirit.

"When I say that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, I do not mean that the great and living God, in order to get into His world, had to violate His wonderful law of human generation, break into the sanctities of marriage and cause a Son of Man to be born without a human father.

Such a notion is most repugnant to my idea of a wise and holy God. I was therefore not alarmed, I was relieved when a careful study of the Holy Scriptures convinced me that this notion of the origin of Jesus was without foundation in history. Jesus was not lessened in my worship. He was ennobled by this discovery. I believe in him all the more.

"But I am told that this conception is not permissible in the mind of a minister of the Protestant Episcopal church. I bow to that decision. I cannot change my mind; I therefore leave the church. But I have reason to know that there are hundreds of clergymen and thousands of laymen in that church who have reached the same conclusions that I have."

#### HIS TRIAL, SO-CALLED.

It will be of interest to note that his trial for heresy was not ordered until after an investigating committee appointed by the bishop had reported against the advisability of such a trial. By many it was supposed that this adverse report would end it all; but no, the Standing Committee and the Bishop decided otherwise, for had not the Bishop already decided the case? Had he not in a letter to Dr. Crapsey, notifying him of the appointment of the investigating committee plainly accused and convicted him in these words?

"I must say to you that it is a stupendous responsibility you have assumed in disturbing the peace of God's church, and in teaching as truth what is contrary to its doctrine."

So the Standing Committee, in its capacity of grand jury, found an indictment against Dr. Crapsey, charging him with heresy. This was submitted to and approved by the Bishop, who ordered it sent to trial at Batavia, New York, in April, 1906. Perhaps the most significant feature of this trial was the fact that the Bishop named and the Standing Committee approved a majority of the judges

before whom Dr. Crapsey's trial was held. Three of the judges were named by the Bishop after the trial had been ordered. This trial court was composed of five clergymen from country towns in western New York, men not distinguished as scholars in the church. In fact it was freely commented on at the time that the church is afraid of her scholars. At any rate the Bishop and Standing Committee did not see fit to name any conspicuous scholar to sit as a judge in the case.

In defending himself against this charge of heresy, Dr. Crapsey called ten of the most distinguished clergymen in the Protestant Episcopal church, who were sworn in his behalf, and were severally asked to testify whether in substance his statements of doctrine were within the fair liberty which the church allowed her clergy, and not unorthodox. This court after taking counsel with those higher up, refused to hear the answers of these distinguished witnesses, on the ground that they constituted the court and were the judges of whether or not Dr. Crapsey's statements were heretical, and were the best judges of the meaning of the articles of the creed "as the church hath received the same."

So the trial (?) proceeded, and the court found—as the Bishop had found months before—that Dr. Crapsey was teaching as truth what is contrary to the doctrine of the church, and he was deposed from his church. An appeal was taken to the court of review, which affirmed the decision of the lower court, declaring that it had no power to review the case as to whether or not Dr. Crapsey's statements were heretical, because that function remained for a court of appeals (not yet constituted) to consider and exercise. So the court of review affirmed the deposition of Dr. Crapsey as a heretic, and he now stands before the world ready and free to tell in a larger way of the truth which made him free. He has no bitterness in his heart. His message will not be one of censure, but will be filled with the very best results of his

life's study of the goodness and the mercy of God. While his pulpit has never been to him a coward's castle in which to hide the truth, his larger field will permit his light to shine farther and brighter.

WHO IS THE MAN?

When any man makes a profound impression on the public mind, and stirs the people's conscience, human interest centers around him, and everyone is mentally asking, "Who is the man?"

Dr. Algernon Sidney Crapsey was the son of Jacob Tompkins Crapsey, a lawyer who for fifty years practiced his profession in Cincinnati, where Algernon was born in June 1847. His mother was Rachel Morris, the daughter of Hon. Thomas Morris, one of the founders of the State of Ohio, a United States Senator, and a distinguished leader in the abolition movement. Algernon Crapsey attended the common schools of Cincinnati until he was eleven years old, when he began work in the check-room of a drygoods store, staying there two years, then two years in a hardware store. When but fifteen years old he enlisted in the Civil war in Company B of the 74th Ohio volunteer infantry, serving nearly a year, until a violent illness compelled him to return home. Then followed an engagement in a local printing office, a venture in a country store in West Virginia, and a temporary appointment in the Dead Letter office in Washington, from which place he went to New York, and for a year and a half worked in a printing office there.

In all these years he had been a student and a great reader, devoting his leisure hours to study and research; and it was during these excursions into the world of ideas that he developed the thought that he would prepare for the ministry. Up to this time he had never been connected with any religious organization. His father never joined a church, in fact had reacted in his youth from the stern dogmatism of his Baptist clergyman father before him.

Algernon, now twenty years old, entered St. Stephen's College, a Protestant Episcopal school at Annandale, New York. In 1872 he graduated from the General Episcopal Theological Seminary in New York City, and was ordained to the priesthood by Rev. Horatio Potter, was appointed a deacon on the staff of Trinity Church, New York, and was later placed on the permanent staff as an assistant minister, where he remained in the active service of Trinity Church and parish for six years, resigning that position to go to Rochester, New York, to take up the work of St. Andrew's parish then a mere struggling handful who had signally failed under the name of St. Clement's parish.

This parish lies in the southeasterly portion of Rochester, and is composed principally of workingmen and their families. During the twenty-eight years of Dr. Crapsey's ministrations it has become the most conspicuous workingmen's church in the whole denomination. When Dr. Crapsey came to St. Andrew's in 1879, he found no congregation, no church, nothing but a very small chapel and a small rectory. From these beginnings he built up a parish spiritually, numerically, and financially strong. The present structures, including a handsome stone and brick church, a well-appointed parish house, and a suitable rectory, are said to be worth \$150,000. He is entitled to the credit for this gratifying growth. He gracefully divides the honor with his wife, who has been constant in good works among the parishioners; and to her he claims is due the larger praise. She was a Miss Adelaide Trowbridge, of Catskill, New York, whom he married in 1875. They have had nine children, of whom seven are living.

Personally Dr. Crapsey appears slightly under the medium height, though his appearance may be due to a slight stoop, characteristic of the scholar. He wears no beard. His expression is pleasing, his eyes bright, his manner gracious and thoughtful. In a word he is a courteous

scholarly man, whom to know is to appreciate and respect.

He enjoys the personal loyalty of his parishioners to an unusual degree. They have known for years that he gave to his religious teachings a spiritual interpretation, and that his habits of thought and utterance were more in harmony with the scientific than with the dogmatic view. He never concealed his opinions from them. He went forward untroubled by thoughts of heresy, and if it had not been for outside forces breaking in and discovering heresy, he and his church would have continued to work together for the spiritual upbuilding of St. Andrew's parish and its little world. Many of his parishioners have urged him to form an independent church, but he has counselled them to remain faithful to St. Andrew's, that their duty lay there, that after hearing him preach between two and three thousand sermons, they had heard all he had to tell them, and that some new minister might bring them a new message.

#### THE AFTERMATH.

Since his deposition he has received thousands of letters from all directions, often more than a hundred a day, and for the most part from entire strangers, all expressing sympathy with his larger interpretation of formulated religious beliefs, and the hope that he would give those views to the people. In response to this larger invitation, he has developed a plan to give, in a short series of lectures, his thoughts regarding the present crisis in the churches. In brief, these lectures will develop the distinction between the religious beliefs as they are set forth in the creeds of past ages, and the living

and growing vision of a religion that shall meet and satisfy the requirements of the twentieth century with its fund of information not possessed by men at the time the creeds of the Protestant churches were written. In these lectures he will discuss the intellectual, the spiritual, the moral breakdown in the churches, the conflict between creed and knowledge, between dogma and conscience, and the significant questions: should a clergyman know the truth? and should a clergyman tell the truth?

Already he has commenced the delivery of these lectures, and is attracting thoughtful men and women of all denominations, and those who have no religious profession but who are anxious to find if there is something in religion that can satisfy their souls' cravings and at the same time not so react on their intelligence as to nullify its benefits. These seek not for dogmatic statement, they want scientific and religious truth. They seek not a god hidden amongst the machinery of a top-heavy ecclesiastical organization, but the living God in whose practical presence they may find help in their times of need. This is the vision that Dr. Crapsey sees and of which he foretells.

The church has been on trial instead of Dr. Crapsey. It is now on trial before a court not selected by any Standing Committee or Bishop. It has been weighed in the balance and found wanting in spirituality, in toleration, in love. It has pushed Dr. Crapsey out into the lime-light, and in closing the door upon him, has shut itself into the inner darkness of its own magnificent tomb.

HARRIS ADDISON CORELL.  
Buffalo, N. Y.

## HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD: MESSENGER.

By W. G. EGGLESTON.

OF THE many lovable men I have known, Henry Demarest Lloyd was the most lovable. He was a flood of sunshine and sweetness, a messenger of love and hope, of peace and good-will, without acidity or bitterness. I met him first in 1887, when we were brought together in arranging for a reunion dinner of graduates of the various schools of Columbia University, which was given at the Richelieu Hotel in Chicago. Lloyd presided at the dinner and made a short address, a little gem thrown into a junk-heap of after-dinner speeches. I remember what he said; what was said by some half a dozen other speakers was not worth remembering. This is not said invidiously or contemptuously, for I was one of the speakers.

We had come together, he said—I do not pretend to quote his words—as graduates of one of the great colleges of our country, to touch hands, to revive memories, to bring soul into contact with soul; an exclusive assemblage from which were barred all except persons falling in a certain class—graduates of the schools of one great school, as we think of schools. But, after all, such gatherings are useful only as they impress upon us the lesson that we are all pupils, not graduates, of the greater school of the world; and we gain but little from class dinners, college dinners and other reunions unless we remember that we are fellow-students with all mankind, and that their lives and hopes and sorrows are a part of our lives, hopes and sorrows. The wisest of American philosophers has said that notwithstanding all the selfishness that chills the world, the whole human family is bathed with an element of love like a fine ether, and that our intellectual and active powers increase with our affections. To love our fellow-men is to renew our powers; to serve our fellow-men is to

give the highest play to our powers. The chief end of man is to serve his fellow-men, enjoy them and give them joy; for man was made to rejoice, not to mourn. We may not meet again as representatives of our college, but every day we meet on the street and in the market-place our fellow-students in the world's big school. We are a part of them, and they of us. We are a part of their lives, and they of ours. We cannot live apart from them. Give them the hand of fellowship and they will give you the soul-love that every soul yearns to give.

After the dinner we walked together a few blocks, and when we parted I said: "Mr. Lloyd, you read Emerson in the original, and your translation is perfect. I want to know you." And I came to know him. His home at Winnetka was a rest-house of vast and perfect hospitality, and Mrs. Lloyd was a gentle mother to all humanity. Theirs was a home of love and perfect peace. The stranger within their doors could not feel that he was a stranger. Near the house was a high bluff overlooking Lake Michigan, and there I have sat with Lloyd in the Spring and Summer and Autumn evenings; and sometimes I have taken long walks with him on Sunday mornings. He was a liberal education, without vanity or conceit, without even a hint of the pompous; plain, concise, never at a loss for the right word, and with a genius for coining words that fit. Often during our early acquaintance I tried to classify him. A statesman? Yes; he was; but more. A literary man? Yes; but far more than that. A teacher? Of course. A messenger; one who brings good news from the Infinite Conscience. I found the word when he said to me one night: "Every soul has a message for every other soul; and what a pity that some have

not learned to speak their message!"

Some men collect pictures, some gather old coins; others butterflies, and still others collect old books. One of the Rothschilds is a collector of fleas. A more enthusiastic collector than any of these was Lloyd, but he did not collect things to be placed in cabinets or museums. He was always ready to go to the ends of the earth, and often he did go, to collect specimens of successful co-operation, sociological facts, evidences of the practical brotherhood of man, triumphs of the expanding conscience of mankind, evidences of the practical application of the eleventh commandment. It was well said by Miss Jane Addams that perhaps Lloyd's chief accomplishment was his mastery of "the difficult art of comradeship," and that he made his social charm an instrument to create a new fascination for serious things. He had no patience with superficial "flag patriotism"; he knew no way to "teach respect for law" except to make the law respectable. His *Wealth Against Commonwealth* was the modern pioneer of "muck-raking." Every statement is fortified, and time has shown, as Mr. Edwin D. Mead has said, "the fatal accuracy of Lloyd's pioneering work." But having completed that work he determined to do no more of that kind. "I shall spend the rest of my life," he said, "in telling America of the constructive things in the world which she ought to know about and ought to establish." Henceforth he was a synthesist, telling his fellow-men of the experiment stations of coöperation, industrial arbitration, direct-legislation, public-ownership; and exposing hollowness and humbug by apt and stinging phrase. "He is too rhetorical," said his critics. He was rhetorical in the sense of being a master of the art of speaking and writing with propriety, elegance and force.

He loved the well-turned phrase, and was a master at phrase-making, but he used the thing rhetoric as the master uses the pedals of the piano. He did

not use prejudice as one of his instruments; he chose the higher emotions, and upon them he played *con expressione*. In reporting the economic facts found in diverse corners of the earth he seemed to fulfil the prophecy of the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, clothing the dry bones with flesh and directing into them the breath from the four winds. During the long senatorial contest in the Illinois legislature in 1891 I met a Spring Valley coal-miner who said to me one day: "If these legislators would only do the right thing they'd elect Henry Lloyd, and then we'd have a real Senator." "But," I replied, "why waste such a man by caging him in the Senate? A whole Senate, or even half a Senate, of Lloyds would be worth while, but it seems like cruelty to imprison one such man in that body while it is controlled by corporations. He is doing ten times the good in private life that he could do in the Senate as it is now constituted." The miner said Lloyd might act like a lump of yeast if he were in the Senate. "Let us keep the yeast among the people for a while," I replied. "Lloyd is a yeast that will make us rise." The miner was silent a few minutes, and then said: "Ah, but what a beautiful world this would be if half the men were Lloyds!" He lived the message he brought. The man was as noble and stimulating as his word. He seemed to live in a glorious sunrise. As I knew him, his life was always a "Good Morning." He so loved his fellow-men that he lived his life, and gave his life, that they should not have injustice. Upon what other American has fallen the mantle of Emerson? Yet he had a broader mind, a more practical mind and more of the spirit of universal comradeship than Emerson.

Not distant voices, but the voice within him said:

"Look, then, into thine heart, and write!  
Yes, into Life's deep stream,"

but his theme was the joyous voices of the day rather than the forms of sorrow and the solemn voices of the night. He



Copyright, 1903, by J. E. Purdy, Boston, Mass.

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

spok  
that  
of t  
He  
optim  
alon  
that  
and  
bett  
belie  
spain  
with  
eith  
ties.

P  
of t  
scie  
beli  
the  
abio  
felle  
Wh  
to  
the  
do  
ciet  
pub  
Soc  
per  
ina  
ina

1  
is  
is  
each  
pro  
ear  
po  
tal

tha  
pu  
re  
bo  
A  
ne  
N  
th  
gi  
-  
th

spoke of and protested against the things that brutalize, that affright, but he spoke of them as a prophet who sees their end. He was an optimist, but his was not the optimism that says, "Let well enough alone." Rather was it the optimism that sees how things may be bettered, and has the courage and energy to try to better them. Like Jefferson, he did not believe it is permitted to any one to despair of his country. He had no patience with the doctrine of "total depravity," either in religion, in industry or in politics.

Politics, to Lloyd, was not the science of trickery, nor a game of greed, but "the science of government." He did not believe that men are prone to do evil as the sparks to fly upward. He had an abiding faith in the Conscience of his fellow-men, in the Universal Conscience. When men are bad, he was accustomed to say, it is because Society had denied them the opportunity to be good. "Men do not make themselves criminals; Society makes them criminals, and then punishes the individual for the sin of Society. We neglect the children and permit, or force, them to become criminals. Then we build jails for the criminals we have made."

He was an intense democrat. "What is democracy?" I asked him once. "It is public-ownership of Government, with each man having an opportunity to express on the ballot his wish in regard to candidates for public service and public policies. To delegate authority is to take chances in a fraudulent raffle."

In June of this year I received *Man, the Social Creator*, with a note from the publishers saying that it was sent at the request of William Bross Lloyd. The book was compiled and edited by Jane Addams and Anne Withington from the note books of Henry Demarest Lloyd. Necessarily, it is incomplete. It needed the finishing touches and revision of the gifted author. But, after all, it is Lloyd—the philosophy, the religion, the hope, the soul of Lloyd. Reading a few pages,

I was again at Winnetka, and he was speaking his message of hope and love.

His other books, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, *Newest England*, *A Country Without Strikes*, are the reports of a keen observer who has sent himself to report on conditions. *Man, the Social Creator* is Lloyd's report of what he found within himself. It is the deeply religious report of a deeply religious soul. It is Christianity without Churchianity. Within the whole book one cannot find two fig leaves sewed together to cover the naked truth. Others might demand the nude in art. Lloyd demanded the nude in truth, and the truths he spoke needed draperies neither for adornment nor concealment. His ideas came to you as he did—clean and well dressed. He was a speculator—a viewer from a mental watchtower—a speculative philosopher who dealt with known quantities and found results that required no violation of natural laws. He traced man's future by following the curve of his past and present.

Lloyd was often derided as a Socialist. He was at the same time an Individualist and a Philosophical Socialist. Explaining his economic position he once said to me: "Individualism and Socialism are asymptotes—two economic conditions that constantly approach but never come together. Man will prohibit individualism from taking what belongs to the public, and will see that what belongs to the individual is not taken from him." "What does belong to the public?" I asked. "Monopoly," he replied. "Monopoly in private hands means government in private hands. That means tyranny. When men reach a certain growth they abolish tyranny."

Lloyd's Philosophical Socialism did not comprehend, or include, the abolition of competition, for in the chapter on "Discovery of Social Love" he says:

"Unless universal extinction is conceivable, we shall always have struggle, competition, war; never unity, rest, peace."

. . . But as man has become wiser and tenderer, competition has been changing before our eyes. It has become the competition of a universal trade which is taking the place, and rapidly, of the competition of war once universal. . . . A coöperative political economy will not banish competition, but will make it progressively more a competition to create livelihood, property, opportunity for all in the best ways. . . . At this moment, and in the social world, the need is to emphasize love, the force which unites. The opposite, the force that separates, individualism, competition, is as eternal, as necessary, as beneficent as the other, but it has had too long a day. It has swung the world of labor to one side."

And again:

"Social life will never again be narrowed down to a governmental function, as in Sparta or Peru or other communistic societies. The 'individuality' which has been gained by the race for every member will never be surrendered. Civilization will not return to the castes of India or the guilds of the Middle Ages, not even under the invitation of the most glittering and seductive Utopia. Competition can never be abolished. It is the economic expression of the individualism created by the emancipations of history we call modern times. . . . We will not abolish competition, but we will not keep it the competition of the Iroquois and Apaches. . . . The Peace of Labor we are to establish must be consistent with the perpetuation of the rights so hardly won, so precious, of each individual to come and go, to work or not to work, to work at this or that, as his circumstances, his development, his own conception of his interest and his duty tell him to do. It is to be the function of society not to force him hither or thither but to open the way for him to go hither or thither, as he wills or must, free from force."

Never in any conversation with Lloyd

nor anywhere in his books have I found acceptance of the idea of Socialism as the Socialist party defines it: "Public-ownership of *all the means and instruments of production*." A most significant utterance in *Man, the Social Creator*, is this, showing his view-point:

"Private property being individualism, and its abolition being socialism, the two are correlative and must yield to each other just as rapidly as experience and necessity dictate. Civilization is a growth both ways—an intensification of private property in certain ways, an abolition of it in others. . . . Those forms of property in which the welfare of others is more concerned than that of the owner will be modified or abolished. . . . The higher the individualism the higher must be the socialism. The resultant of these opposing forces of socialism and individualism must be determined by each age for itself, but history shows how plainly the lines advance on each other."

It was in 1888 or 1889 that I spoke to Lloyd about the Swiss system of initiative and referendum, believing I was telling him something he hadn't heard of. "Yes," he said. "I've read the Swiss Constitution, and I'm going to look into that." The next year, I think it was, he gave me Sullivan's little book on the initiative and referendum, and a few years later he went to Switzerland for material for his *Swiss Sovereign*, upon which he was working when he died. I wish he could have lived to know how successfully the people of Oregon have made themselves sovereigns by adopting and using the initiative and referendum, and how they have thrown into the scrap-heap the political bosses and lobbyists of the corporations. Of the Swiss system he says:

"It was a great stroke in the road of society to invent representative government, political historians tell us. It permitted society to expand not only politically, but in all ways beyond the limits of the voice of the tribal herdsman or the

day's journey. It made the modern state possible. Another great invention in the machinery of representative government is taking place at the present moment, which is now seen in Switzerland, by which in a large society of the modern world the government of millions is again made audible and by all, brought again within the voice of the herdsman and again within the limits of a day's journey. Through the Initiative and Referendum the voice of the people of the largest state can again be heard as clearly as in the market-place of Athens. It enables the Town Meeting to put on national or even imperial purposes and yet remain a Town Meeting; and in Switzerland we have seen it evolved naturally and easily out of the Town Meeting. The most interesting thing about Switzerland is that there we see the people continually changing their fundamental law—the Constitution—to make it fit the changed circumstances of their life. The period which elapses between the proposal to change the Swiss Constitution and the change itself is only a few months. This telephonic current of response to the people's wishes as to the provisions of the Constitution is a far higher exhibition of democratic ability than anything to be seen in the field of constitutional change either in England or the United States."

However, such an exhibition of democratic ability was seen in Oregon at the State election in June of last year, when the voters voted on five constitutional amendments proposed by initiative petition, five initiative bills for laws and one referendum of a legislative enactment; and voted with an intelligence that we seldom find in legislative bodies. Out of a total number of 99,445 ballots cast, an average of 74 per cent. was cast on the various propositions submitted to the voters. Moreover, under a Primary Nominations law adopted by the people in 1904—placed before the voters as an initiative measure after the Legislature

had refused to enact such a law,—the voters virtually elected their choice for United States Senator.

One of the charms of Lloyd, in conversation as well as in writing, was his elimination of invective. "How much happier and more useful they would be if they would do right," he was accustomed to say of industrial pirates. "Men who oppress their fellows, who take what does n't belong to them, whether money, or property or political power, cannot be happy. They do n't know what they do. If they did know, if they could see it all, they would n't do it." We find that sentiment in *Man, the Social Creator*, in which are four chapters on "The New Conscience"—as a factor in civilization, in industry, in politics and in education. Read them again and again, and each time there is a new meaning, a new idea, a new delight. The central doctrine of the slave power was that the laborer was merely merchandise, a commodity. It is not so long since some Americans so declared. The new conscience has repealed that idea, substituting the declaration that "labor is only a commodity." That is the central idea of present-day industry. But since that idea is destructive of the liberties of the laborer—and of all others—there is a newer conscience that repudiates it, as it will repudiate the assertion that the laborer must work out his own social and industrial salvation. What would we answer the corrupting lobbyist who says, "I did not buy the sinner; I bought his sin when I paid for his vote." The man who can leave his conscience at home when he goes to the market-place will find no conscience when he goes home.

"When you see a cause against which all the powers of law, Church, culture and wealth are united, there is a cause worth looking into," says Lloyd. "If there was nothing in it, why should all these mighty institutions be so disturbed about it? And if you find all customs, statutes, learnings, creeds, logics, bazaars

and currencies against it, look at it still more searchingly. All these have always at the first been united against any new conscience and have always conspired against it, even unto the death. Let those who are great because others are small—let those who are happy because others are wretched—let those who are rich because others are poor—listen out of their golden security for the crier of the new conscience. His voice foretells a new day."

Men have lamented—perhaps still lament—because they were born too late to take part in the Anti-Slavery agitation; but the abolition of slavery did nothing more than clear the ground of a little rubbish. The greatest cause of history is with us now—the injustice that consumes the poor and lowly. There is always a next step, and the present next step is more liberty for the laborer, for the people. "The practical work of to-day is to abolish the cannibals of competition, warriors of supply and demand, tyrants of monopoly, monsters of the market, devourers of men, women and children, buyers and sellers of life. . . . Monopoly is force, and force is slavery, and slavery must be abolished. The new conscience insists that every question between men is a religious question, a question of moral economy before it becomes one of political economy."

Lloyd brought, and left, a message to the church; but it will go unheeded, as the message of the Anti-Slavery apostles went unheeded. In one of the strongest paragraphs in the book he tells what the new Church will be; and by telling what it will not be he shows how the church of to-day is neglecting its opportunity. It would be worth while to hear one who knows how recite that paragraph of two pages. It is too long to quote, but it may be condensed thus: The new Church will be one of the deed as well as of the creed; will make its worshipers share this world as well as the next; will declare that the difference in death rates

of classes and masses is evidence of murder done for money; will stop the manufacture of poorhouses by stopping the manufacture of poverty; will keep its buildings open day and night and work its congregation in relays rather than let "brothers" starve or freeze or go astray for want of sympathy or advice; will teach that we are now living the life eternal; will not ask the poor to give up all of this world on the unsecured promise of the rich to divide the next world; will judge civilization by the children in the back alleys rather than by costly cathedrals; will make every social wrong a moral wrong, and every moral wrong a legal wrong; will prevent the anarchy from below by punishing the anarchy from above; will deny the right of the employer to commit infanticide; will abolish the merchant prince and factory corporation rather than permit them to abolish the childhood of children; will keep a hell hot in this world to punish those who strike at God through his image, man; will realize the vision of Carlyle of a Human Catholic Church.

Lloyd believed that the new conscience is already well under way which will before long make an act of selfishness as revolting to general opinion, and therefore as rare, as an act of immodesty. We already have a term, hoggishness, applicable to immodesty and selfishness. Mazzini dreamed of a religion of Democracy, and Charles Ferguson has written a book on that subject, but it is too much a cry of despair. Lloyd never cried *de profundis*; his was a voice of the mountain tops, and if he saw darkness he spoke of the light beyond. His eyes were fixed on the sun. He had an abiding faith in the great mission of humanity, the faith that arouses to victory. "Civilization," he said, "is simply applied conscience, and Progress is a widening conscience." Like other right-thinking men, he had no patience with the economists who preach selfishness as the guide of conduct, "and the men, corporations and nations who practise it," he said, "are

heathen, atheists, barbarians—more animals than men."

The chapter on the "New Conscience in Industry," written when what we have come to call "criminal finance" was rioting in fancied security, is a prophecy that the new conscience will break into the business world and revolutionize or reorganize it. "The test of time has shown that all the things the Caesars claimed belonged to God. The things that are really Caesar's are only those that are any man's—the right to be one of all, and to be a brother." The world of business "reveals itself to be the Darkest Continent, where there is no God. This is the atheism which menaces the religious life of mankind." But, thanks to "muckrakers," light is being thrown into that Dark Continent, and for its Devil's code of selfishness something better will be substituted. Civilization is the product of great expansions, and we have come to the threshold of another. From every department of domestic life save that of industry the right of private war has been eliminated, and even there the barbarian whose voice is still for war has public sentiment—the public conscience—against him. "The business world," says Lloyd, "is a chamber of horrors, because it is a region where men are forced to associate but where they defy the laws of association"; but "the scrambling of mankind over each other for property is but a passing phase of the moon. True property can only be got as citizenship was got, by giving to all that we may receive from all."

Strange words, set to strange music, were the words of the "Star Spangled Banner" and of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Strange words, set to a new music, are now humming through the heart of man; the words and music of the new conscience and new liberty, and they have brought into sight that obscene bird fear, which, says Emerson, "is the herald of all revolutions. One thing he teaches, that there is rottenness where he appears. Our property is timid, our

laws are timid, our cultivated classes are timid. Fear for ages has boded and mowed and gibbered over government and property. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be righted."

The Czar fears for his "property,"—his throne, his "divine right to rule" and his equally divine right to own men by owning the gifts of God that men must use in order to live. The slave-owner feared for his "property,"—men and women and children of another race and color. Our transportation kings, coal czars and oil emperors fear now for their "property," and they, having killed competition, now earnestly, almost tearfully insist that "competition is the life of trade, of business." But, as Lloyd once said to me, "it is not competition but man's desire to satisfy his wants that is the life of business." A sort of state sovereignty is claimed for competition by the men who have killed competition in their own lines, and are reaching out into other lines to kill it there. That, however, is not an argument against competition, but against the monopoly that kills it.

The greatest tribute to Lloyd's lovable-ness is the esteem, the love the Single-Tax men had for him; for Single-Taxers and Socialists are as far apart as the poles. He and I once had an almost all-night session over the Single-Tax, could not come together, and agreed to disagree. But I believe he saw, as Thomas G. Shearman did almost twenty years ago, and as is coming to be well recognized now, that the great economic contest is to be between Socialism and the Single-Tax; and, as Shearman said, the kings of riches will fall all over themselves to get into the Single-Tax wagon and save what remnant they can. Socialists and Single-Taxers agree that involuntary poverty is unnecessary and a curse to humanity; that it can be abolished and should be abolished. Their essential disagreement is as to ownership of the means and instruments of production.

Socialists demand public-ownership of private and public property. Single-Taxers demand public-ownership of public property, but private-ownership of private property. The franchise kings assert the justice of private-ownership of public as well as private property, forgetting that in the early days of railroads and other public utilities the grantees sought franchises and asked for the right of eminent domain on the ground that the utilities to be constructed were "public property devoted to public uses." The Single-Taxers assert that the fundamental error of Socialism is the denial of the justice of interest. Socialists assert that the fundamental error of the Single-Tax is that it admits the justice of private-ownership of capital—the wealth that is used for the production of more wealth.

"When poverty is abolished," says Lloyd, "then the production of wealth in the world will really begin." It is not true that men will not work unless driven by stress or fear of poverty, and the very men who are loudest in making this assertion—the captains of industry—disprove it when they themselves bend every energy to the acquirement of more wealth. We see that labor is not a curse, but a blessing. Labor is a curse only when the laborer is cursed, by the contempt of those who think it degrading to render service for service and degrade themselves by accepting service without rendering an equivalent; who regard it as a fair proposition that the laborer should "gather driftwood on shares."

"Henry George is right in predicting a disintegration of political parties," Lloyd once said to me. "There is a lack of conscience in our politics, and the public conscience will finally awake and transform our politics." Politics is the science of government—not a science of warfare for possession of offices, nor yet of placing the unworthy in the public service. We can no more have clean politics without conscience than we can have clean morals without conscience. Lloyd once said to Mayor Jones, of To-

do—Golden-Rule Jones—that "the Golden Rule is the original of every political constitution ever written or spoken." It is the law of action and reaction, of reciprocity, of coöperation; and, clearly, man was made for coöperation. The members of the physical body of man coöperate one with another; the members of the physical body of society must coöperate similarly. We have made politics war, a war that would sometimes be more merciful if the victims were killed instantaneously. Because of the political war in the nation, we have race-wars in the nation. "In politics," says Lloyd, "the people are sighing for peace. They are as weary of the political campaign as of the industrial competition." We are told from the inner circles of finance and business that presidential campaigns disturb business, and hence that the term of the President should be six or eight years, or longer.

The most advanced political organization of the British workingmen has for one of its objects to put an end to party government—which is party misgovernment. Instead of expressing the will of the people, says Lloyd, party government nullifies the will of the people. It is amusing to read in a recent review of Winston Churchill's *Coniston*, that "it is a psychological fact that most people in this world want to be led, and political leaders rise to the top by a principle of natural selection, and in accordance with the law of the survival of the fittest." Most people are democrats in that they believe in government by the people. The people do n't want to be led—or driven, or pushed or pulled. They wish to go. Most of the men who become political leaders rise to the top by corporate selection, not by natural selection; and as Lloyd happily expressed it, "survival of the fittest means survival of the fiercest and the most cunning." In that review of *Coniston* we read the complacent conclusion that "the New Hampshire people seem to like bossism, else they would not have put up with it so

long." Let us draw the equally logical conclusion that most people seem to like insurance frauds, else they would not have put up with them so long; or, most New England manufacturers seem to like high tariffs on raw materials, else they would not have put up with them so long; or, most people do n't want a pure-food law, else they would have had one long ago. We might assert that the producers of Europe like wars and huge standing armies, because they have not abolished them.

That there is a new conscience in politics—merely a growth of the public conscience—is not to be doubted. We have seen it in the overthrow of political bosses and the smashing of political machines in more than one State and City within the past two or three years, and in the nation-wide demand of the common people for primary nomination laws and the initiative and referendum. Law-making and law-killing by parties and corporations has come to an end in Oregon. Boss and machine nominations have been abolished in Oregon. "Government by party is not a means of settling things," says Lloyd; "it is the best of devices for keeping them unsettled. . . . Party threatens liberty in the same way that a standing army does. It breeds a servility to itself which the heads of the powerful organizations are constantly tempted to use for their own selfish advancement . . . the methods of party government are a bloodless—almost always bloodless reproduction of those in war." Selfish principles cannot lead to an unselfish consummation. The party mismanages government for the benefit of the party, and invites the voter to use the party for his private gain.

It is difficult to agree with Lloyd that the checks on popular power in the Constitution of the United States were not so much the result of distrust of the people by the founders of the government as the deliberate choice of the American people. I believe he would have revised that statement had he lived to re-

vise the manuscript of *Man, the Social Creator*. However that may be, Lloyd did not look upon a constitution as a fetish. "We have the right not to be governed by dead men," he said to me. "Each generation has a right to change, amend or repeal its constitution, without asking permission of the cemetery." Nor had he the legal and judicial reverence for authorities. Sitting on the lake shore at Winnetka I said to him one night: "If you had practiced law you would have been a continuous revolution. Think of your making an argument and getting a *stare decisis* decision!" "Yes," he replied. "Or sitting patiently when the opposing counsel called the court's attention to a line of unbroken decisions running back to Robin Hood's barn, proving that injustice is equity."

Truer political word has not been spoken than Lloyd's assertion that "security of subsistence is the indivisible other side of the suffrage." To give the poor, the ignorant, the hungry, over-driven, leisureless, the suffrage and tell them to protect themselves against the rich, the initiated, the worldly-wise, the well-fed, the leisured, with the vote which requires for its effective handling wealth, leisure, experience, knowledge and morals "is a mere freak of extermination," he says—which reminds us of a similar declaration in *Progress and Poverty*. Government, the real article of government, requires a People, or The People. We have about eighty millions of population, but that population is not yet a People. "The People means union," and "union is peace." We must have peace in all our relations before we can be a People.

Nothing better has been written on education than the chapter on "The New Conscience in Education." It embodies the philosophy, the science, the constitution of education. Lloyd heard the cry of the children. They were his younger brothers and sisters. "Society," he says, "is pitifully, wickedly, wastefully derelict in the care of its young. The baby

quails and infant wolves are better off than our children, relatively. More natural is their youth, more complete their preparation. We are outraging our children's lives at just the point where the brutes perfect that of their little ones. . . . To make the scheme of education complete the eighteen hours the child spends out of school must be on as high a plane as the six hours in school. . . . Education must be life, and life must be education. Our pretended guarantee of an education for every child must be a real guarantee." One has a right to be indignant at our neglect of the children when it is remembered that not less than a million and three-quarters of Amerian children who should be in school are working in factories, coal breakers and department stores, and that the whole civilized world can be maintained in comfort by less than six hours' work a day on the part of each able-bodied adult male—without assistance of women, children and cripples. When bank directors treat bank assets as society treats its greatest asset—children—society demands a state's prison sentence for the bank directors. A visitor from Altruria might draw the conclusion that our educational arrangements were planned to prevent the general spread of intelligence and training without which the common people cannot discharge the duties of citizenship and life.

Lloyd was in full sympathy with the labor movement, but he pointed out that it is not the laborer's movement any more than the abolition of slavery was the Negro's movement. "The labor movement is specially the movement of our times. The laborers alone cannot conduct it. It is the heir, in the direct line of descent, of all the great emancipations which have made civilization, and its questions can be settled only by the use of all the entailed estates of progress." The labor question, the Negro question, the Indian question, the Chinese question, the woman's and the Philippine questions are the same old Man's ques-

tion put to the conscience of humanity by the Sphinx whose catechism has no last page. Lloyd, like Henry George, finds the key for the arch when he writes:

"The American labor movement is drawn on by its destiny to find no resting place until its democracy recognizes the industrial liberty, fraternity, equality, of all men and women of all births, native and foreign; of all colors, white and red, black and yellow; and of all occupations, manual and mental, skilled and unskilled. Let there be one outcast, one Samson, prisoner, holding to the pillars of our temple, and we are undone."

The trouble is, labor leaders and anti-union leaders have not yet seen that we cannot deal with social questions by dividing men into the eternally elect and the eternally damned. Labor leaders have no more right to put the blame of all social ills on the plutocracy than the latter has to put it on the working-people.

Lloyd often used the words "revolution" and "evolution" interchangeably. "Neither God nor man can make a two-year old colt in ten minutes," he said to me. "Things must grow. We must get the bad out of the way and give the good opportunity to grow. There is good in the worst of us if we give it a chance to grow." He refused to separate the social law from the moral law, insisting that what was not moral was not social. Morality meant more to him than chastity, temperance and observance of the statutes against sheep-stealing and till-tapping. The Eleventh commandment, "that ye love one another," was in his code of ethics inclusive of the other ten. He was a Philosophical Socialist, but not a class-conscious Socialist. He believed that progress follows the evolutionary line of least resistance. The true political economy was to him neither more nor less than moral economy, and politics merely a part of the religion of humanity, a section of the moral law. When he said that "the history of humanity is the growth of one new conscience

into another," he meant "growth by expansion of conscience." In fact, *Man, the Social Creator* is a work on the evolution of conscience. It is Lloyd's confession of faith in the goodness and high destiny of his fellow-men, whom he loved. He, his life and work, remind me of the hope, the faith, the ecstasy of Tennyson's "In Memoriam." For him, man, having "moved through life of lower phase," is ready to obey the command and attain the result,

"be born and think,  
And act and love, a closer link  
Betwixt us and the crowning race."

He was a very type

"Of those that, eye to eye, shall look  
On knowledge, under whose command  
Is Earth and Earth's, and in their hand  
Is Nature like an open book."

There was in his philosophy no justification for despair,

"For all we thought and loved and did,  
And hoped and suffer'd, is but seed  
Of what in them is flower and fruit."

The flower and fruit whereof Lloyd was a noble type,

"Appearing ere the times were ripe,  
That friend of mine who lives with God,

"That God, which ever lives and loves,  
One God, one law, one element,  
And one far-off divine event,  
To which the whole creation moves."

Once I asked him, "What is the 'one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves'?" And he answered: "All those things that we dream of and hope for and believe in."

W. G. EGGLESTON.

Helena, Montana.

## THE INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE UPON SOCIALISTIC ORGANIZATION.

BY WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER.

LANGUAGE is the force which is now shaping and determining the practical development of socialistic organization. This influence, apparently little appreciated except among officials of the social democratic party of the world, has ever had a most disastrous effect upon the progress of the propaganda because it has prevented a fusion of those socialistic organizations whose principles were identical and because it has tended to make socialistic doctrines of almost limitless variety. Differences in language have tended to divide into passively antagonistic or openly hostile groups what otherwise would have been a strong and compact international organization of socialists whose power would have been incalculable. If the present attempt to reduce the number of languages spoken by socialists succeeds, it is probable that in a great measure the forces which have

divided socialism will be overcome. At the same time, however, the organization which results will be so modified in character as to be much less dangerous according to the ideas of the non-socialist. To understand the involved part which language has played and will play toward socialistic organization, the term "socialists" must be so limited as to exclude that large mass of so-called socialists who have no effect upon the practical progress of the party.

In its present disorganized state, socialism seems almost impossible of definition, the popular statement that there are as many kinds of socialism as there are socialists seeming but little of an exaggeration. In general, however, the term "socialism" as here used represents that economic doctrine which would abolish the competitive system by substituting therefor a collective ownership of the

means of production. Although this academic conception of socialism regards it primarily as an evolutionary process the culmination of which will take years of gradual development, to this basis has been added many theories much more radical, fantastic, and visionary. Notwithstanding the fact that at root socialism is an economic doctrine to be brought into effect either by political evolution or revolution, additional governmental, moral, and theological excrescences have in the course of time adhered to it. Belonging to this secondary group of socialistic parties, is the social revolutionary party which believes in the propagation of its principles by force and bloodshed—the "terror" of the Russians, but the social democratic party of the world, which seems about to become the great socialistic organization through the subtle influence of language, represents the evolutionary type.

Not so much upon the basis of economic theory, however, as from the standpoint of peculiar local conditions, have the many divisions of the socialistic party been made. Membership in any of the local branches depends to a surprisingly large extent, not upon the principles held by the organization but upon religion, vocation, race and language. Through the intensity of these personal feelings, bitter animosities have in many cases been aroused between different factions of the same general group of socialists. In causing this unfriendliness, all four elements have in most cases had a bearing of such character that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between them. The prejudices which have caused these dissensions are older than socialism and entirely apart from it.

Although socialism does not concern itself primarily with theology, religious differences form one of the most important questions with which it has to deal. In general, the attitude of established churches is in opposition to socialistic organizations. Moreover, groups of so-

cialists of antagonistic religious beliefs refuse to become part of one organization. For this ecclesiastical hostility the old idea that socialism as such is unchristian, and the confusion of anarchism with socialism, is responsible in part. The opposition of the Church of Rome to any propaganda which tends to upset the established order of things or attacks constituted authority accounts for much of its unfriendliness. In other cases, the relations between the established church and the state are so close that anything believed inimical to the government is considered a menace to the religious organization. This antagonistic attitude on the part of the established church has cast socialism into more or less of disrepute, thus preventing its acceptance by many whose loyalty to the ecclesiastical authority is greater than their loyalty to their opinions. Moreover, many organizations which are actually socialistic in view do not join the international party because of the religious stigma attached. The force of this religious influence is probably felt the most in Poland. Among the uneducated and comparatively docile portion of the people there prevails a strong desire for the things socialism promises. Nevertheless, on account of the religious influences which have been brought to bear, the many societies which have been formed which hold to the same principles as the hated socialists, have been given other names and of course have had little influence upon the international situation. Branches of the social revolutionary party whose members are under the influence of the Greek church hate divisions of the social democratic party whose constituents are Roman in affiliation. In Germany and Russia as well as Poland, the feeling between Jew and Gentile is extremely bitter. In disordered Russia, brutally bloody clashes between Christians and Jews are of daily occurrence irrespective of any action on the part of the local authorities. In nearby countries, these animosities seem to take less bitter expression only

because of the greater strength of the governments. This hostility has resulted in the formation by Jewish socialists of the Bund—really a social democratic organization, but nevertheless hostile in some measure both to it and to the social revolutionary party of Russia. The recent clash in the Chicago ghetto between members of the Bund and of the social democratic party of the world is an example of this feeling. Thus the old tragic story of Jewish and Christian antagonism, aided, it must be admitted, by influences of race and language, has kept divided a party which, if united, would nearly treble its present strength.

Of scarcely less importance than the effect of religious differences, is that of vocation upon socialistic organization. In general, the various divisions of the social democrats recruit their members from the cities and the different branches of the social revolutionists look to the country for their strength. To counteract the power of the social revolutionists in the country districts of Russia, the agrarian democratic party was launched under social democratic auspices. This soon lost the few distinctive characteristics which it originally bore, and was assimilated by other organizations. The same strife is also noticeable in France where the communistic socialism of the country comes into contact with that of the towns where it is more highly developed. In the United States, the few socialists of the country towns are of the evolutionary type but nevertheless are inclined to be suspicious of the social democratic party of the cities.

It is around the Baltic—the region which is the center of the greatest practical activities of socialism to-day, that race prejudice is of the greatest importance in setting socialists against each other. From the beginning of history, that country has been almost continuously a bloody battlefield where races have struggled desperately, been reduced to submission, annihilated, but never assimilated. The racial struggle has

been continuous and the hatreds thus engendered have been maintained to the present day. The Letts, Ugrians, Poles, Finns, Lapps, Buriats, Czechs, Wends, Ostiaks, Lithuanians, Livonians, Esthonians, Prussians, Russians, and many more races and subdivisions of races each to-day keep up to a greater or less extent their historic animosities. This hereditary hostility has made each race feel distrustful of the socialistic organizations of other peoples although of identical principles. The social democratic organizations of the Finns, for instance, are continually bickering with similar Lithuanian groups. To this race-prejudice, Gregory Maxime attributes the fall of the ill-fated Baltic republic which under his leadership defied the power of the Czar until the old feelings of race-hatred broke out again. Everywhere this same condition exists. The Franco-German ill-feeling has caused the French social democrats to refuse to join the social democratic party of the world although their principles coincide. Running through all this question of race-prejudice, is another consideration which can with difficulty be divorced from it—difference in language.

Difference in language as it affects socialistic organization is indissolubly connected with these three elements of disunion and yet has intrinsic force. The inherent difficulty of organizing a mass of men who, although agreed as to principles, speak many different tongues, is almost enough in itself to render impossible the propagation of any doctrine such as socialism which depends for its final acceptance upon thorough conviction by involved argument. The socialistic party is, as a whole, composed of men who are not highly educated; few of its leaders speak more than one language besides their own. So great are these mechanical difficulties, that even the optimistic leaders of the social democratic party of the world are anything but sanguine as to the possibility of forming one homogeneous organization until some of the

many language difficulties are eliminated. This trouble is not confined to the Old World as is illustrated by the attempts of the Illinois state central committee to gather into the socialistic fold the Poles, Huns, and Lithuanians of South Chicago, who still clung to their native dialects. After signal failure, the party turned its attention to the English-speaking Scandinavians and Germans of the West Pullman district of Chicago, with the result that a socialist was elected to the Illinois legislature. Where there was a common language, the socialists were successful; where there were many different tongues, they lost. Countless similar examples showing the virtual impossibility of forming a strong political organization among people who speak different languages might be cited. Although racial and religious hatreds have in themselves exerted powerful tendencies to make difficult the union into one effective organization of the many socialistic parties, influences springing from the differences in language have done much to strengthen this effect. When the line of difference between socialists of the same class is religious in its origin, a difference in their languages renders this unfriendliness more bitter and harder to overcome. Although primarily the result of religious prejudice, the hostility between the Russian social revolutionists and the members of the Bund has been increased by the fact that the former speak pure Russian and the latter Yiddish. The influence of language upon race-prejudice is equally clear. As long as two peoples who are inclined to hate each other do not speak the same language, a cessation of that unfriendliness is very improbable. That this influence is generally recognized is shown by Russia's attempt to force the many peoples of the Baltic province to give up their native tongues for that of their masters and by Germany's prohibition of the teaching of French in Alsace-Lorraine. Until these peoples under the sway of the same government do adopt a common language, it is a certainty that

their present hatred toward everything foreign will exist.

Thus early in 1905 some of the leaders of the socialist party saw that the first step toward securing a centralized international organization was the elimination of the constantly disunifying effects of so many languages, an attempt was made to reduce the number of tongues spoken by members of parties which were really socialistic in principle. With their characteristic disregard for practical details, many of the stronger members of the social democratic party of the world became very active in attempting to give shape to the movement. The evil effects of the present differences in language they clearly saw; they understood that if the present number of tongues in the regions where socialism might flourish could be reduced to three and eventually one, their party would become of greatly increased strength; but the course of action necessary to inaugurate this reform they did not formulate with any very great definiteness. The then-existing social democratic party of the world was taken as a nucleus for the international organization. To this was added the efficient and successful social democratic party of Germany and the socialist party of the United States, which, although in local politics of little value, is a source of strength to the international organization. Dr. Maxime contributed his Baltic branch of the evolutionary socialists and a few nearby Russian social democrats and members of the Bund followed soon after. From this new social democratic party of the world, all languages except English, Russian, and German are to be gradually eliminated. When Dr. Maxime was in the United States in the summer of 1906, he visited local groups and attempted to centralize the American section of the language reform. In the Chicago ghetto and in South Chicago, great and fairly effective attempts are now being made to carry out this plan by attempting to minimize the number of languages in

use. A generation is the time set for the success of the Chicago movement by Dr. Eugene Frankel who was left in charge by Dr. Maxime.

As this elimination of languages goes on, it is thought by the leaders in the movement that the four most important causes of their lack of unity—race prejudice, religious animosity, difference of vocation, and mechanical difficulty of a multiplicity of tongues, will be eradicated. This introduction of a few common languages cannot help but batter down the barriers of race-hatred between the smaller racial divisions of the same general socialistic party. In small regions such as the Baltic provinces where now perhaps a dozen languages are spoken, the effect of the exclusive use of Russian is sure to result in the ultimate union of the organization there. The Russian government, by its attempt to do this very thing, has proved itself an unwitting ally. Whether this process will be equally effective when applied to the larger divisions is considered more uncertain. In regard to the different religions, the same general effect is obvious. With common languages, the old hatreds and suspicions would be gradually overcome by a more free exchange of ideas. Contact of Greek and Roman and Jew and Gentile would be made practicable and the inevitable result would be a fusion of the socialists who were formerly kept separated by religious differences.

More difficult, however, is the task of uniting the laborer in the city and the peasant through the influence of language reform. Although in many cases, particularly in southern Russia, different languages or dialects are spoken, the factor which separates these socialists is the fundamental differences in their kind of socialism. The social democrat of the city believes as a general thing that socialism should and will come as the result of evolutionary processes which are to be caused by a general education of the people; the social revolutionist in the country and provincial cities relies

on the "terror"—the socialistic expression for indiscriminate butchery—to bring about what he thinks will be the millennium. In just what manner this chasmic difficulty will be bridged by the language reform is not made clear by the enthusiastic socialists. With the vague optimism characteristic of their party, the leaders in this language movement say they rather think in some way the precise particulars of which they do not know, it will prove effective.

If the reform is successful, the resultant socialistic organization will of course be greatly strengthened. At the same time moreover it is equally evident that those elements which the non-socialist considers the most dangerous will be thoroughly eliminated. This is almost proved by the very fact that the branch of the party which is leading in this propaganda is the most conservative. Although many of the divisions which will be amalgamated will bring with them some of their more radical ideas, the organization which results will inevitably be given its character from the evolutionary theories of the present social democratic party of the world. This organization has repeatedly gone on record as intolerant of anything bordering on the "terror." Thus, although this ultimate social democratic party of the world is sure to have greatly increased effectiveness if the visionary plans of its leaders materialize, those elements which to the non-socialist appear the least radical will automatically characterize this new monster organization.

"A greater foe to organized socialism than capital and hostile government combined is difference in language," said Dr. Maxime, in summing up the question to the writer in the summer of 1906. "Were it not for these conditions, which would not exist were there fewer differences in language, Russia to-day would have been a republic. If a common language had made race prejudice in the Baltic impossible, the Baltic republic would have been in existence and I would not be a hunted fugitive. If

Russia had one language, it would to-day be a social democracy where economic justice would be the basis of everything. The elimination of many of the languages now spoken by socialists would overcome much of the disunifying effect of racial and religious prejudice. By this plan of throwing out of use superfluous lan-

guages, we hope to unite the socialists of the world into one efficient, centralized and irresistible organization which will by a peaceful and gradual evolutionary process revolutionize the economic system of the world."

WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER.  
*Chicago, Ill.*

## RECENT HUMANISTIC LEGISLATION IN NEW ZEALAND.

BY EDWARD TREGEAR,  
Secretary of Labor for the Commonwealth of New Zealand.

SO CONSTANTLY do communications addressed to me arrive from the United States, so numerous are the letters from journalists, lawyers, farmers, politicians, and university men, concerning our "progressive legislation" in New Zealand, that I trust I shall be pardoned for drawing attention to late events occurring in our little colony. In calling it "little" I refer chiefly to its paucity of population, and to the slight commercial importance which its isolated position and distance from the world's great centers at present renders unavoidable. In other ways we laughingly hope that the value of our minute existence may be estimated as is the rare excellence of radium.

In writing of what has been lately done towards the betterment of our economic and social order by legislation, it will be fair to present not only what has been brought into permanent existence, but also what has been attempted, and what is projected in the near future. In the world of practical men it is the accepted rule to count only actual achievements, but the thinker and reformer will probably desire to discover and get into sympathy with the guiding spirit of such legislation. More may perhaps be learned by inference and by observation of a general tendency of effort than by solely

recognizing the obvious and material results.

First, then, to speak of what has been done during the last few years. The Factories Act originally intended only to protect women and youths by regulating their working-hours, overtime-payment, holidays, etc., has been extended to cover the hours of men engaged in industrial work so far as payment for overtime (at extra rates) beyond an eight-hours-day is concerned. This is so widely spread that even the forest-workers engaged in getting lumber for saw-mills come under its provisions. Shop-assistants ("store-clerks") and clerks in offices have also been legislated for in a similar direction, the hours of men assistants now being made equal to those of women and overtime payments conceded to both should they be required to work beyond prescribed hours. These reforms, vital in principle and affecting tens of thousands of the poorer classes, were rendered imperative, not only by many cases of hardship and extortion, but by justifiable complaint of the women that laws made for their protection had in effect by limiting working hours, prescribing overtime payment, etc., placed a handicap on their work as compared with that of men if the element of sex-competition entered into the industrial

field, as it has widely done. If men can be worked all hours, at any rates of pay, and without payment for holidays, then women working under restrictions (designed, of course, for their health's sake) suffered unfair and unequal pressure. Now, from manufactories, shops, etc., this pressure has been removed. In the mines the legal definition of an "eight hours' shift" has been made so that it is counted from "bank to bank," *i. e.*, that it commences when the miner presents himself at the mouth of the pit or shaft. Formerly the time lost in descent and ascent, and in proceeding along workings (sometimes for miles) was lost by the worker, who was expected to perform this duty gratis, but now such expense must be borne by the management.

Such legislation, however, is only intended to cover those occupations not at present carried on under the direction of the Conciliation and Arbitration Act. The subject of "compulsory arbitration" has in its working existence presented so many interesting phases that I propose to make its developments subjects of a separate article. I refer to it now because a part of the direct benefit which was expected from it by many has proved illusive. It was anticipated, especially by the manual workers, that one of the effects of the Act would be to greatly augment their wages and earnings. It has not fulfilled this expectation. Wages have only been slightly raised on the whole, although in particular trades, considerable advance has been made. In other directions, the gain has been considerable, including shorter hours of labor, a minimum living-wage, payment for overtime at increased rates, and above all, steadiness and continuity of employment. These may be looked upon as valuable "by-products" of the Arbitration Act, but the direct enhancement of wages has not resulted. Even the benefit which should have been conferred through the advance in wages made during the last fifteen years, has been more than lost through the still greater

advance in the cost of the necessities of life. This is a matter not confined to the Colony in its general application, since workers in older countries have similarly suffered during the same period. The trouble, in all probability, ensues because with the advance, the legitimate advance in culture of all civilized communities, the phrase "the necessities of life" has a far wider application than was the case fifty years ago. Still, even beyond the wider general cast of this net of life's necessities special conditions have here been in action which appeared to bear with harshness and cruel incidence upon the working-classes. Chief of these was the rise in rents, most noticeable in the principal cities, and particularly in Wellington, the capital of the colony. The rent difficulty reached so acute a stage that in numerous cases more than a third of the laborers' earnings went for a shelter (often of a poor kind) over the heads of his family, and it was evident that the prices charged bore no proportion to the cost of the accommodation provided. The Government, which had already successfully entered the field of commercial competition in the case of life-insurance, fire-insurance, accident-insurance, public-trusteeship, state coal-mines, railway construction and management, telegraph and telephone installations, state loans to settlers, etc., etc., has proven the possibility not only of successfully carrying on such operations nationally, but that the effect of such enterprises is to control the charges and tariffs of companies and of individuals without driving private enterprise altogether from the field; in fact, to check exorbitant profits and monopolies by State control of business. Therefore it was resolved by Parliament to pass legislation by means of which pleasant homes could be provided for the working-classes, with benefits not usually granted by private holders of property. Not only are fair rents to be charged (about £2.50 per week) but sinking funds provided by which (if so de-

sired) a portion of the rent received by Government is set aside in order that after a few years the house and land may become the freehold property of the occupier. In the larger cities where pressure is most extreme, cottages have been built on fair-sized allotments, but are not to be let to persons having incomes exceeding \$1,000 per annum. Of their appearance and suitability as residences, the reader may judge by the accompanying illustrations. The cottages are being freely applied for, and the scheme promises not only to provide homes in which workingmen can bring up families in decency and self-respect, but to relieve the congestion in crowded city streets by reducing the competition for the remaining houses.

The system thus sketched in outline was by no means the full extent or limit of the State attempt to provide workers with homes. Settlers in the country districts have for some years benefitted through loans of money obtained abroad on national security at a low rate of interest and then lent to farmers and others in order to allow them to develop their properties, particularly in the direction of the removal of the pressure of strangling mortgages executed in "the good old times." The town-dwellers, who, with all other inhabitants of the Colony, had borne the liability for the rural settlers guarantee, now have an opportunity afforded them also of sharing the benefits of cheap money, and of a principle which was the very fount and origin of New Zealand's present prosperity, *viz.*, deliverance from private control. "The Government Advances to Workers Act, 1906," is best described in its preamble, which sets forth that it is "An Act to enable Government to assist workers in providing homes for themselves." Its use is limited to persons employed in manual or clerical work and not in receipt of an income of more than a thousand dollars a year nor owners of any other land except that on which it is intended to build. Such a person may

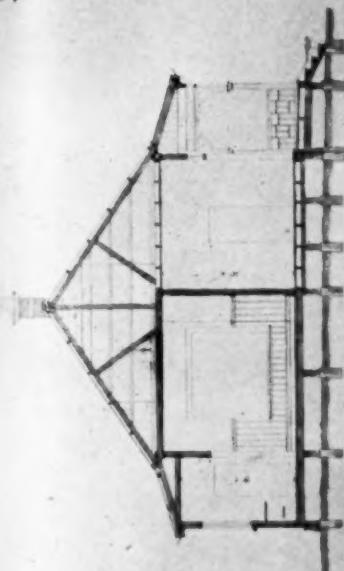
obtain a loan from Government, having a maximum of \$1,750, subject to certain regulations. The loan is to be for 36½ years at 5 per cent. interest (less ½ per cent. if paid within 14 days of due date) payable half yearly; but by these payments the loan itself is extinguished in the time mentioned. Any sum greater than the interest named may be paid in if convenient, in order to hasten the acquittance of the capitalized debt.

Even the most perfect system hitherto formulated by private employers for the housing of their workmen's families has suffered under the suspicion (sustained on two or three occasions) that private townships, however lavishly supplied with libraries, baths, gymnasia, public-gardens, etc., may be used as weapons in the hour of an industrial dispute. At such a time, when the functions of employer and landlord merge into one person or corporation, social and economic pressure can be applied to the wage-earner in a way that must be a great temptation to the wielder of such power, and the worker naturally dreads to find himself at once both discharged and evicted. A State Government stands too high for the dread of coercion in this manner to affect its tenants.

If, then, the worker does not care to obtain a house and land already provided, he has by this alternative scheme of a money-advance, an opportunity to make his home in a particular place, and build his house in an independent or original manner. The system must stimulate individual enterprise, while raising the general tone of comfort among those on whom the hardships of life fall most heavily. Such a scheme must surely meet the approval of those who prefer the expression "Collective Individualism" to the dreaded phrase "Socialistic legislation."

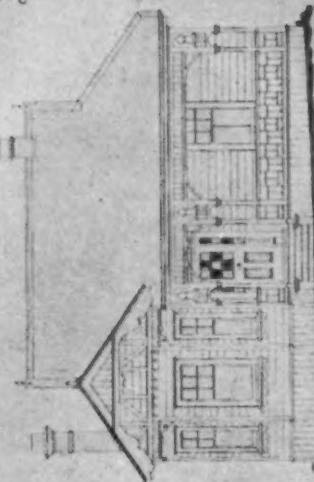
Those who knew most closely our late Premier, Mr. Seddon, and feel for his memory that reverent affection so eloquently described by the Editor of THE ARENA in the November issue of this

No 1

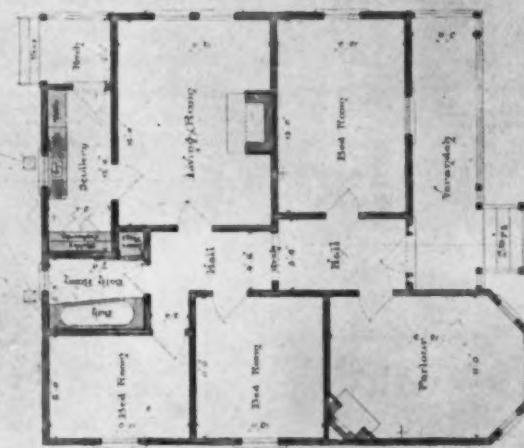


JOHN M. WALKER  
ARCHITECT

Section on

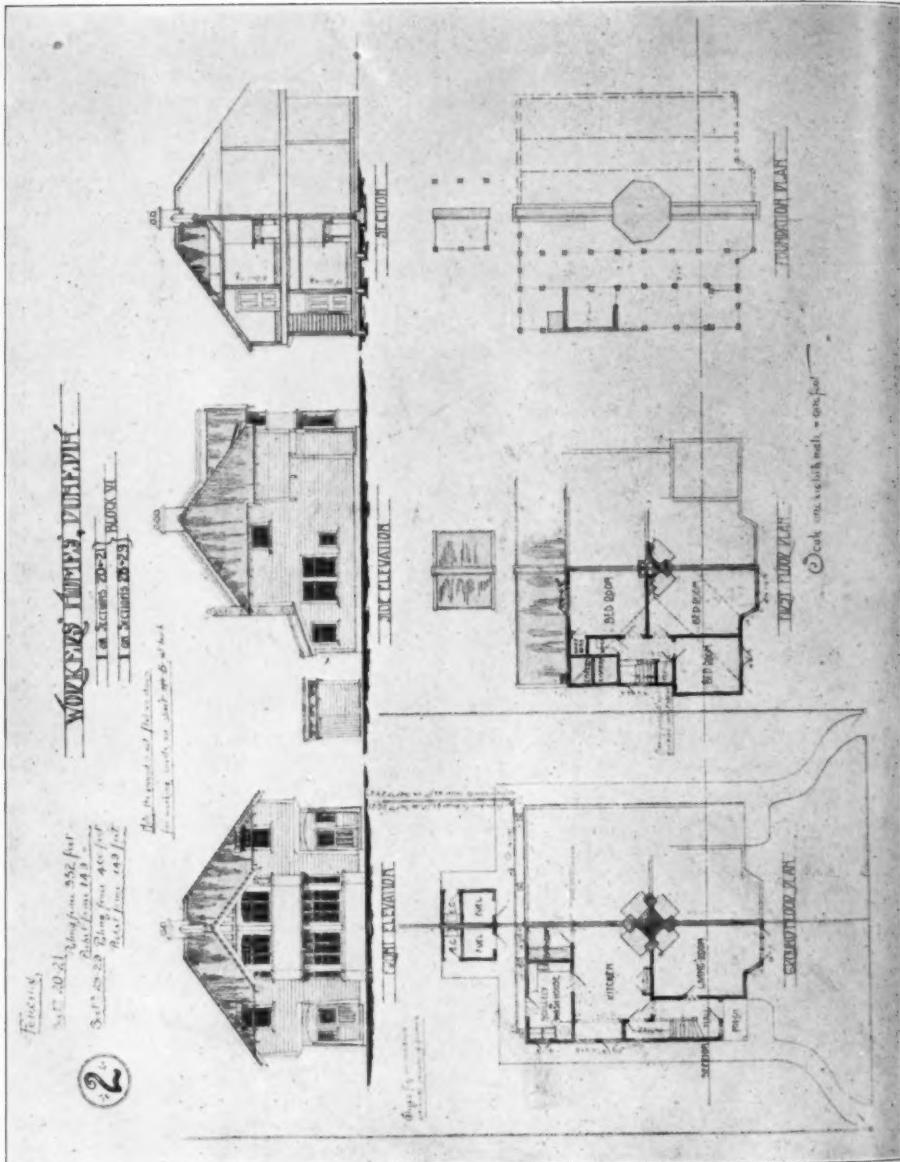


Treatise



## Plan of House in Philadelphia

**PLAN OF WORKMEN'S HOMES, AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND, ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RENTED TO WORKMEN.**



magazine, have an added sorrow, inasmuch as they are aware that there was one project dear to his heart which his sudden death in "the fighting line" prevented him from seeing carried out. It was his scheme for the provision of National Annuities, a subject which he said he hoped would be "the crown of his career." Happy are the people whose trusted leader declares the crown to which he aspires to be only one more and greater benefaction to the struggling and the needy!

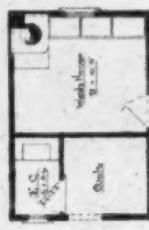
The idea of "National Annuities" arose in Mr. Seddon's mind through representations made to him that although during the acceptance of the present competitive system it is impossible to disturb radically the existing industrial conditions, yet compensation may perhaps be effected at the other end of the economic balance. To make my meaning clearer a larger illustration must be used. Hitherto the individual has been expected to recognize his duty towards the State, with little clarity of acknowledgment from the State of its duty towards the individual. A man or woman is expected to obey the laws, to pay taxes, to behave worthily as a citizen, but the State seldom recognizes any individual ability or effectiveness which governs the response. We are gravely warned "to keep our cradles full," without the corresponding fact being enunciated with emphasis that the man who helps to keep a wife and half-a-dozen children pays (through customs-duties, etc.,) far heavier taxation than the man who spends his income on himself. The most valuable function of a citizen from a national standpoint, *viz.*, that of providing the State with citizens of the future, is penalized, and the parents who have denied themselves many gratifications—sometimes even stripped themselves bare of possessions or of the opportunity of advancement—to clothe, feed and educate the young people without whom there would, in a few years, be no State at all, these parents may die

in the gutter or in the frozen hell of the workhouse so far as the State generally is concerned. In the industrial world this pleasing indifference to the social aspect cannot yet be interfered with. The bachelor toiling at his bench and producing as much per hour as his married competitor must receive his earnings on the value of his work, not on the number of mouths he has to fill. This is part of the system; here the State is powerless to intervene, for any interference in the direction that the man with dependents should receive more pay than one without any would ensure the discharge of "the head of the family," and be laughed out of court. *The State, nevertheless, should not join in the laughter.* The State's first and most pressing business is its own existence; if it gives no encouragement to parents, but on the contrary penalizes and flouts them, whatever other motives and causes may tend to the production and nurture of children a feeling of national obligation will do nothing. The men and women, who, accepting fully the duty of parenthood, have therefore to live in meaner streets, wear poorer clothes, eat less palatable and less nourishing food, together with a thousand other daily self-sacrifices, owe the State no thanks, nor its rulers gratitude.

Mr. Seddon, then, realizing the industrial position, cast about for other means of helping the parent than by interfering between wage-earner and wage-payer. He resolved to institute a system whereby thrift might be encouraged and at the same time the difficulties in the way of honest thrift be recognized. This is to be done by State subsidies added to sums deposited, such sums being supposed to be devoted towards the purchase of an annuity (the lowest of which is \$65 per annum) to be granted on reaching the ages of 60, 65, or 70. Should, however, the sums deposited during the time of payment not be sufficient to purchase an annuity, on any sum deposited with the Government Insurance Depart-

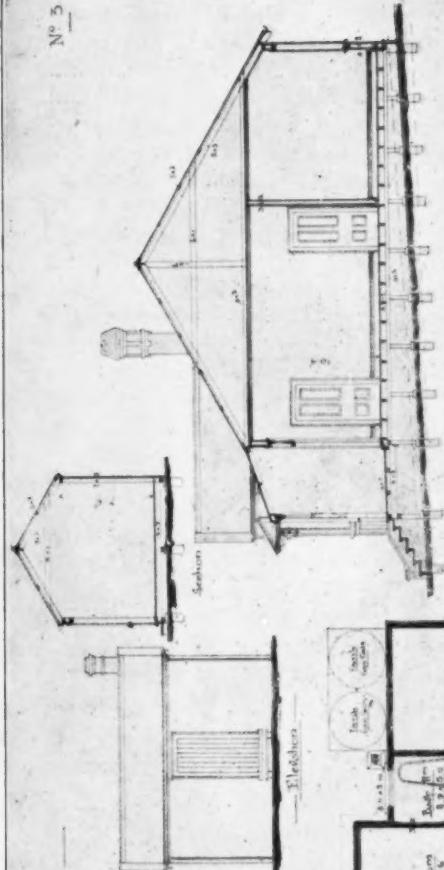
Workers' Homes, Otauhau.

Design No. 5.

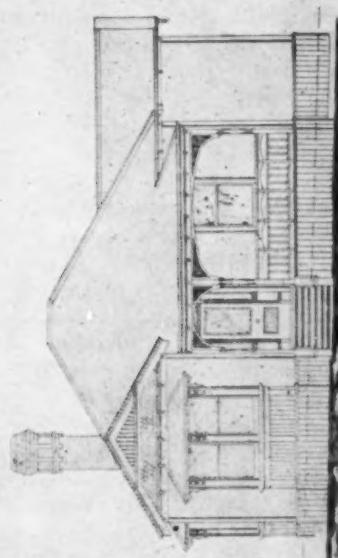


Plan of Old Building.

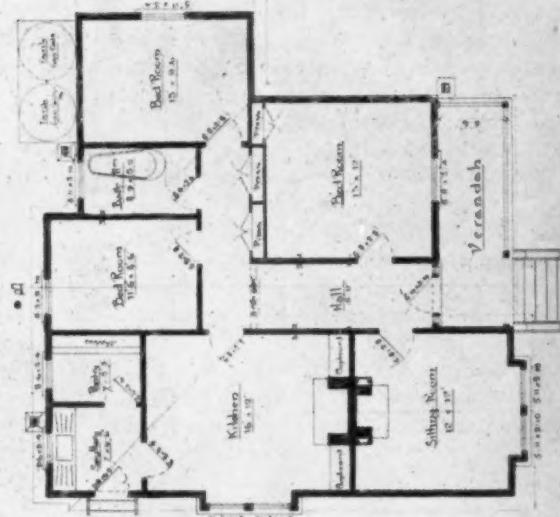
N<sup>o</sup> 5



Elevation A-B.

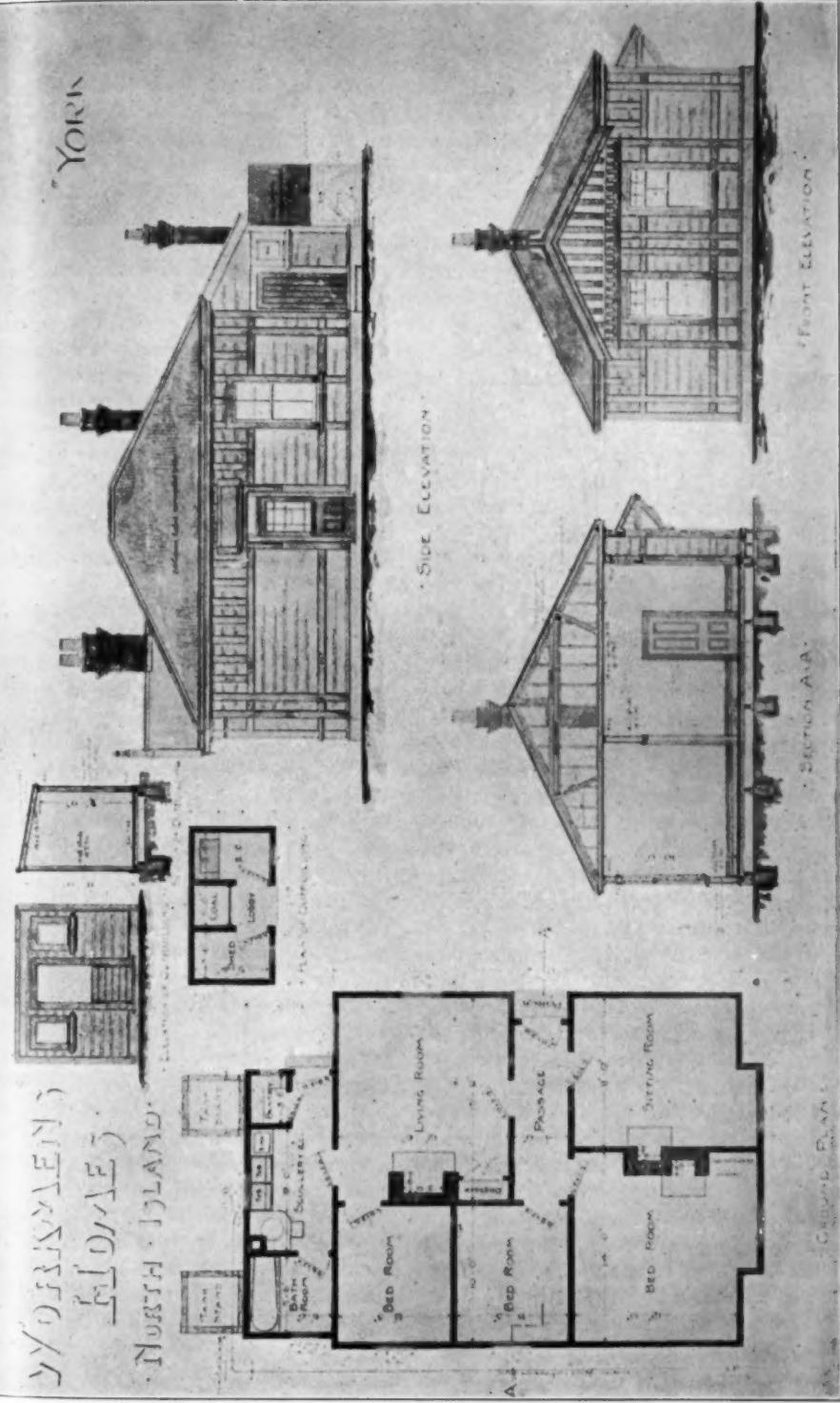


Front Elevation.



Ground Plan.

PLAN OF WORKMEN'S HOMES, OTAHUHU, NEW ZEALAND, ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RENTED TO WORKMEN.



PLAN OF WORKMEN'S HOMES, NORTH ISLAND, NEW ZEALAND, ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RENTED TO WORKMEN.

ment interest will be paid until the deposit is withdrawn, and this interest will vary with the number of dependents and the income of the depositor, etc. Thus, an unmarried man will receive as subsidy (say) 10 per cent.; a married man  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., increasing with the number of children through 1 child, 15 per cent.; 3 children, 20 per cent.; 6 children,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  percent.; and over 12 children, 35 percent. In addition there is an extra subsidy of 5 per cent. to those whose incomes are under \$780 per annum, another 5 per cent. if depositor is a member of a Friendly Society, another  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for "persistency" in depositing—such persistency meaning the continuance for three years of deposits averaging not less than \$10.50 during each of the three years. The Government is not to pay subsidies to those in receipt of \$1,300 per annum or over. The most favored person, and one in a position for which few will be able to qualify, is a widow or widower with 12 twelve children, earning under \$15 a week, a friendly-society member, and "persistent." Such a man or woman would receive a State subsidy of 50 per cent. on all sums deposited.

It will be seen by this rough outline how thoroughly the "commercial" aspect of reward has been superseded in this projected system through help being given to those most needing help, that is to the poor men and women struggling along while trying to nurture the State's future citizens. Not even in Old-Age Pensions (which was a forward movement in its day) has such a principle been attempted to be fostered, for the aged bachelor or spinster receives as much in pension as the old father or mother of a brood of citizens. I do not hesitate to say that it is at once the most advanced as it is the most logical and humane of all endeavors to further social justice through legislation.

Unfortunately for "National Annuities" on its presentation as a Bill to the House of Representatives, all political interest in this or any other measure was

overshadowed by the intensity of a fight then going on *re* the lands of the Colony. The Government under its new Premier, Sir Joseph Ward, had introduced a Land Bill of startling novelty. The Hon. Mr. McNab, the Minister for Lands, proposed that all persons holding land worth more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$250,000) unimproved value must sell the surplus or dispose of it before ten years. There has been much pressure on Government for land for settlement and so little Crown land is left (only 1,641,207 acres, worth perhaps \$3,000,000) that it is desirable to reserve the remainder as endowments to support Education, Old-Age Pensions, etc., while it is urged that those who wish to purchase freeholds can obtain them through the surplus areas large landowners are to be compelled to sell. The proposal met with some violent opposition, being adroitly turned into a "freehold *vs.* leasehold" struggle, so that the Government had to withdraw the Bill for the session in order that during the next recess it could be explained to the small farmer that no attack on his freehold was attempted but only an effort was to be made to get from the proprietors of huge estates some portion in order to provide farms for the poorer settlers' sons. That campaign is now proceeding. The Ministerial party and the Opposition are delivering polemical speeches all over the country.

There are many important measures and projects under consideration, but it is impossible to touch on them in a single article lest the patience of both the reader and the editor should be exhausted. I trust that it will be long before the brains and administrative power of our statesmen cease their fertility and their efforts to do good work for their fellow-men. Until the time of utter barrenness and futility arrives I feel sure that their brothers in Britain and the United States will take interest in the Colony.

EDWARD TREGEAR.  
Wellington, N. Z.

## JENKIN LLOYD JONES AND HIS MASTER-WORK, THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

TEN or a dozen years ago I was speaking with Frances Willard in regard to the ideal church and she said: "To my mind there are but two ideal churches in the United States!" I interrupted her before she had gone further and said: "I venture to assert that I can name them." "Perhaps you can," was her reply, and she nodded her assent and approval when I said: "One is Thomas K. Beecher's church in Elmira, New York, and the other is Jenkin Lloyd Jones' 'All Souls' church' in Chicago." Yet Miss Willard was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and neither of these ministers belonged to that body.

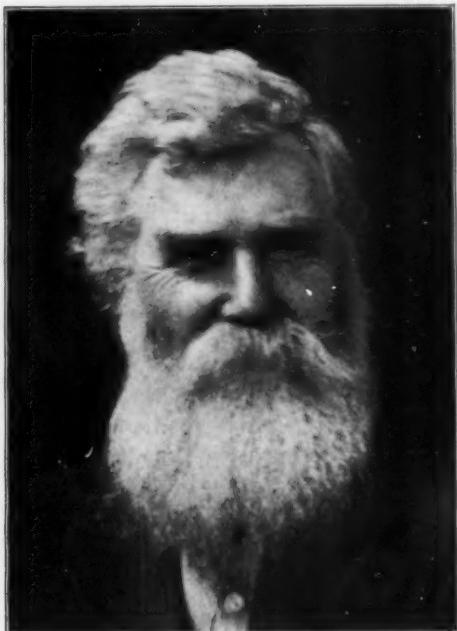
For nearly twenty years I have had the joy and profit of close friendship with Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and because of the unique position he holds as a preacher, and the wonderful work he has accomplished in three varied lines outside of his ministerial work, I feel that he should be known, and well known, to the readers of *THE ARENA*.

Mr. Jones is a man of virile personality, both in appearance, work and thought. He is rugged and strong, powerful and vigorous, dealing with primitive and lasting things with primitive directness, strength and power. The result is he reaches only those who want to think, who *dare* to think, who love to think, and then are not afraid to follow out the results of their own thought.

Sturdy of build, standing about five feet seven inches high, head crowned with a thatch of white hair, and face covered with a shock of white beard, untrimmed and free, eyes sunk deep in their sockets, which are overhung with heavy eyebrows, thickly thatched with dark lashes, eyes that peer at you kindly but searchingly through slits made by their

almost closed lids and then beam on you suddenly with full orb revealed by the wide opening of the lids, he looks more like a jolly sea-captain just home from a voyage over seas who has not had time yet to have his beard and hair trimmed than the presiding minister of the Lincoln Center, the editor of *Unity* and the writer of sermons that breathe the spirit of gentleness and love to all created things.

But I love to see that ruggedness of hair and face. There is an individuality about it revealing the man who cares little for the conventional, the "nice," the frivolous, but who is rugged, strong, virile, real. He is an *El Capitan* of a man,—a tower of granite, with a bold face 3,300 feet high, that impresses with its native grandeur, and not a tiny figurine of clay, or a sculptured Mercury in marble. Not that I decry these pretty little things of clay and marble. I would have them around me, but when I want the large things, the sense of power, freedom, unrestrained Nature just as it comes from the hand of God, I go to the Yosemite and stand before *El Capitan*, or down into the Grand Canyon, or out into the Colorado Desert to the groves of native palms, or up the Sierras to the Big Trees, so do I come to a man like Jenkin Lloyd Jones and I feel that here is a giant soul who loves the free winds of heaven, the storms, the hurricanes, the thunderbolts, the lightnings, the glaciers, the avalanches of life, as well as the sweet odors of the tiny flowers, the gentle zephyrs and the soothing songs of birds. He is a primitive man thrust down the ages with primitive power of thought, primitive power of expression, primitive fire and passion, primitive insight and intuition, primitive poetic and religious instinct, with the addition of



JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Abraham Lincoln Center's Birthday, February 12, 1907.

all that the refinements of modern culture, the subtleties of modern education and the knowledge of modern life can give. He often reminds me of Joseph Parker, the leonine headed and hearted preacher of the City Temple, London.

In preaching, his voice at first strikes one as somewhat harsh and strident, but when he is fully awakened and swinging along with the power and force of his thought his tones become vibrant with deep passion, resonant and strong, from which all harshness disappears.

Three things,

yea, four things outside of his work as a pastor reveal Jenkin Lloyd Jones as an unusual and remarkable humanitarian. These are:

1. The weekly paper, *Unity*. For nearly thirty years he has been Senior Editor of this paper that stands for freedom, fellowship and character in religion, which he has made to live for all these years without the backing of any religious denomination. Like the other works of Mr. Jones, it has shed its influence across many lines and in many fellowships. *Unity* was among the first papers to demand that every advertisement entering its pages should be clean and good. Many "religious" papers are a disgrace to decency, let alone Christianity.

2. The Tower Hill School of Rest and Life. I do not think this is the name given to the place by Mr. Jones, but it is my name. I shall speak of this more fully later.

3. The Abraham Lincoln Center.

4. The lecture-platform to which he has been called to occupy more and more on its thoughtful side. School commencements, teachers' institutes, women's clubs and colleges have listened to



ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER, NORTH-EAST CORNER OF OAKWOOD BOULEVARD AND LANGLEY AVENUE, CHICAGO.



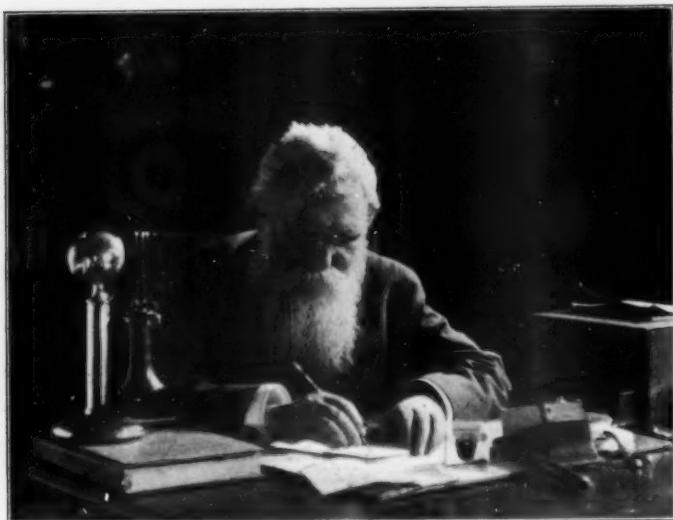
RESIDENT-ROOMS OF JENKIN LLOYD JONES, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

his lectures on "The Cost of An Idea," "The Cost of a Fool," "Character," "The Three Reverences," "Browning," "Emerson," "George Eliot," "Walt Whitman," and many other subjects for many years, and his habit of escaping from the March weather in Chicago to more sunny climes has created for him a special opportunity in Southern fields, where he has been welcomed, in spite of his radicalism, in most conservative circles. Surely these four works stamp the man as boldly progressive and helpfully humanitarian.

Where was he born, and what stuff went into his making? Let us see. He was given to the world by his mother on the fourteenth day of November, 1843, in Cardiganshire, South Wales, so that he is now a little over sixty-three years of age. He celebrated his first birthday by landing in New York whither his

parents came seeking a larger life than the Old Country afforded. He is an alumnus of the log school. The schoolhouse was built in the heart of the Wisconsin forest wilderness, where his parents settled, and finally, when the country was surveyed, it was found that the schoolhouse was in the middle of the road. Here he lived the first twelve years of his American life, in a Wisconsin log-house, which parental love, tenderness and sympathy made into a beautiful home. Indians and deer were regularly seen, and quinine was a regular article of diet.

Intellectually he came from a line of heretics. There have been three Jenkin Jones in the family, all preachers of heresy according to orthodox beliefs. The original Jenkin Jones found the doors of the Episcopal church closed against him as far back as 1726 and he began the heret-



JENKIN LLOYD JONES AT HIS STUDY TABLE.

ical movement in his mother's garden over ninety years before the American Channing preached his famous Baltimore sermon. He established six churches in his lifetime in South Wales, which were branded with the unpopular name of "Socinian."

Jenkin's father was a radical. He came to America chiefly that he might give to his children freedom in religion and politics. He was born with a hatred of slavery, whether of body, mind or soul, and the growing child felt the home atmosphere magnetic with rebellion against convention and enslavement of every kind.

There were ten children in the family of which Jenkin was the seventh when an important move was made. When Jones, senior, settled in Wisconsin he had the old country idea that the prairies were useless for farming. He walked and rode over thousands of prairie acres and told his wife they were of such poor land that one could not grow a switch on them. So he sought the heart of the heaviest timber and there proceeded to carve a home out of the forest. At the end of twelve years he discovered the

fertility and the attractiveness of the prairie country and moved so that he and his children might have more elbow room.

It was there, in Sauk county, Wisconsin, that Jenkin grew up, attended the village school and finally the County Academy. When the war of the Rebellion broke out, the lad of eighteen soon fought out within his own soul the battle as to whether he should go to college or

camp, and as soon as he was old enough to be accepted, he took to the camp. He enlisted as a private in the Sixth Wisconsin Battery, in August, 1862, a company that had preceded him to the field a year before. Five days after his enlistment he was in front of the enemy in Mississippi. He was on the fighting line, still in citizen's clothes. For three years he fought, as a "high private in rear rank,"—indeed until the end of the war. He was in the advance columns of McPherson, Logan, Grant and Sherman, that fought at Corinth, Holly Springs, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, the Atlanta campaign and Nashville. He never left the front nor saw home until he returned discharged at the end of the war. Though in the field hospital, he never went to the rear. The earlier part of his service he was the "babe of the regiment," and though never wounded in service he carries to his grave an "army ankle." Weakened by camp-fever, he went on drill and a caisson ran over his ankle, injuring it for life.

Returned to his home he felt he was too big to go to school, and he resolutely put the university out of his mind, be-

cause his parents were growing old, his older brothers were married and the responsibility of the farm seemed naturally to fall upon him. So, without a murmur, he took up the heavy burden and accepted it as his destined lot, that he should remain on the farm and help his parents. That winter he taught school. When summer harvesting came he was working hard, when suddenly the inner impulse asserted itself. Without reflection, he spoke it out to his eldest brother, Thomas, who was cradling the wheat which Jenkin was binding.

"Thomas! what would father do if I were to go away?"

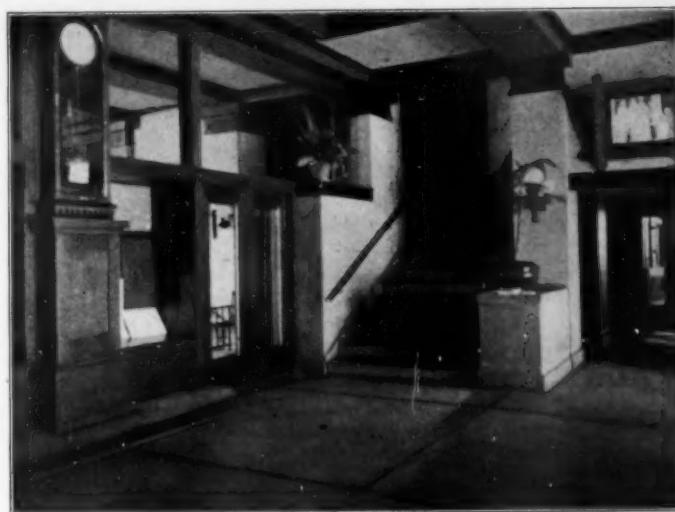
"Go away! Jenk., what do you mean?"

"Why, I feel that I must go away and study to be a minister!"

"Is that so? Well, if you really mean that, and will go and be a good one, you must go; John and I will help father."

And go he did! To the Meadville Theological School in Pennsylvania. In four years he took the regular three years' professional course and much of the academic work of a college as well, earning his way the two first years by taking care of the furnace and sawing the cordwood for the same before daylight. Then he began to tutor boys for college; actually preparing boys for Harvard over the road he himself was traveling a few weeks in advance.

After graduation three calls came to him from different churches. One was from a New England town and the seminary faculty urged him to accept it. They claimed that with his temperament, the



A GLIMPSE OF THE VESTIBULE, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

West would kill him. He had studied hard, was frail-looking and delicate. They thought the rough life and the strain of the West would be too great.

Another call was from a good-sized church in the West, and still another from the small suburban town of Winnetka, near Chicago, which offered him only one thousand a year. With real modesty, he accepted this last call, but at the end of the year felt that he must strike for a larger field. So he moved to Janesville, Wisconsin, where for ten years he plunged into work with the same vigor shown by his father in battling with the primeval forest. During this time he became the Organizing Secretary for the Western Unitarian Conference, and his work as an itinerant began. He lectured, organized clubs, churches and study classes.

In 1880 he came to Chicago, and in 1882 moved to the South Side and hung out his sign. Without followers or financial backing and with a faith that seemed the height of folly he began preaching, telling what congregations that came that the services could be announced only from Sunday to Sunday. For five or six years he had no stated salary. Al-



THE GYMNASIUM, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

ways keeping the enemy in the front, allowing no arrearages.

For two years he preached in a small hall which held only sixty people, then he moved to one a little larger, where he held forth for two more years. In the meantime he was building the combined church and home, across the way from the present Lincoln Center, with money contributed by friends all over the country. For eighteen years he worked and labored there, all the time dreaming of and planning for the greater work of the Lincoln Center, which is now an accomplished fact. It was in this little church that I first learned to know, honor, respect and love him. Here I worked with him often. Here Browning classes, Emerson classes,—every kind of helpful work was carried on, the fitting precursor to the work now being done across the way.

But Jenkin Lloyd Jones has had a far greater influence upon the religious thought of America than any one conceives. This grew out of the way the great Parliament of Religions was conducted during the Chicago Exposition in 1893.

I was in Chicago when events were

shaping for the holding of the great World's Fair. I was honored not only with the friendship of Mr. Jones, but also of the Rev. John Henry Barrows, who, it will be recalled, was the President of the World's Congress of Religions. As early as 1889, I had given a series of thirteen illustrated lectures in Mr. Jones' church on "The Religions of the World," which supplemented lectures, sermons

and Sunday-school teachings which he himself was giving and had been giving for several years. Dr. Barrows was much interested in these lectures and in his own library we talked about them. When the idea of the Parliament of Religions was suggested, it was taken up by the directors of the fair as another opportunity for glorifying the City by the Lake (for such a congress had never before been held in the world), and Dr. Barrows was asked to preside over it. Our talks had led him to know of Mr. Jones' great interest in and knowledge of the various religions of the world, and after the first meeting or two of the committee, in which it was clearly revealed that not a single person present, from the chairman down to the humblest member, had the remotest idea of what the congress should do or how it should go to work, Dr. Barrows privately asked the secretary—Mr. Jones—if he would formulate a suggestive programme, outlining work for the congress for a full week, carefully balanced so as to give all parties and interests a fair representation, and he would bring it before the committee. It must be remembered that Mr. Jones was a Unitarian minister and the major part of



READING-ROOM AND LIBRARY, ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTER.

the members represented the orthodox Catholic and Protestant churches, so that it would have been impolitic, to say the least, for him to have offered a programme. With wise reserve he handed his suggestive plan to Dr. Barrows privately and when it was presented at the next meeting, Dr. Barrows offered it without any hint as to its author. The plan covered seven days of lectures and discussions and when it was read, those who were present will remember the enthusiasm which it aroused. Said one bishop: "If we can carry out one half of that programme, we shall have the most wonderful congress in the history of the world."

All know how the plan was carried out,—nay, how the seven days grew to seventeen.

During the progress of the Congress, all learned to rely upon Mr. Jones. All felt that he was the shaping power of the gatherings. Though he presided but

seldom, he was ever in evidence on the platform and in the vestibules and it was manifest that he not only had deep sympathy with the men and principles involved, but a close grip on the details, which were committed unreservedly to him and it is by no means in any spirit of belittling the great work accomplished by my now sainted friend, Barrows, that I unhesitatingly declare that the real accomplishment of the purposes of the Congress was owing to the clear understanding of its needs by Mr. Jones. Indeed, one layman who was present, seeing the way he handled the various and different phases of the work, then and there begged him to accept a position in business, offering him a salary of five thousand a year "as a starter."

This Congress was not only a manifestation of Mr. Jones' breadth of spirit and comprehension, but it had a marked and decided effect upon his own subse-



WISCONSIN RIVER, FROM TOWER HILL.

quent career. During this Congress he began to feel afresh the fetters of a denominational label, even as broad as the Unitarian Fellowship to which his church and he himself belonged. This was but another sect,—another body emphasizing the *difference* of the beliefs of men, and all his own preaching, all his teaching, all his writing, all the work of this Congress had been emphasizing the fact that the things to be emphasized were not the *differences* but the *harmonies*.

So he laid the matter before his congregation frankly and freely,—well I remember the day, for I happened to be present,—and said they must help him to be free. The Unitarian Denomination had been very kind in helping build the church they were then occupying and had contributed about four thousand dollars to that end. This, Mr. Jones said, must be repaid before they could think of independence, so in due time the money was raised.

Hence, when Lincoln Center was built and its work established, it was not as a sectarian movement. The church that worships there is not a member of any sect or covenant. It has no restricting creed. All ministers are welcome to its platform, so that they emphasize the common aspirations of mankind and glorify the means of attaining them.

righteousness and love in the world." There is no religionist, be he agnostic, deist, atheist, pantheist, Christian, Buddhist, Mahomedan or Hottentot, who does not find in this a *working* bond, a means of union.

What Lincoln Center is can best be seen from the accompanying photographs and in the statement of its work by Mr. Jones' efficient assistant, Mrs. Edith Lackersteen.

The building is situated on the corner of Oakwood boulevard and Langley avenue, just across the way from the old building. It extends 108 feet on the boulevard and 118 feet on the avenue, offering seven and a half floors, built four square to the world with two fronts and no rear. From principle, as well as for economy, the architecture is severely plain. The absence of ornamentation is its attraction.

Its last schedule of activities published includes some thirty different counts and the working staff, published on the weekly bulletin, contains twenty-three names. It is open seven days in the week, employs three stenographers, keeps two telephone lines busy. It aims to be a spiritual power-house, from which will radiate as many helps as possible and towards which all human needs may tend.

The Gymnasium, Domestic Science,

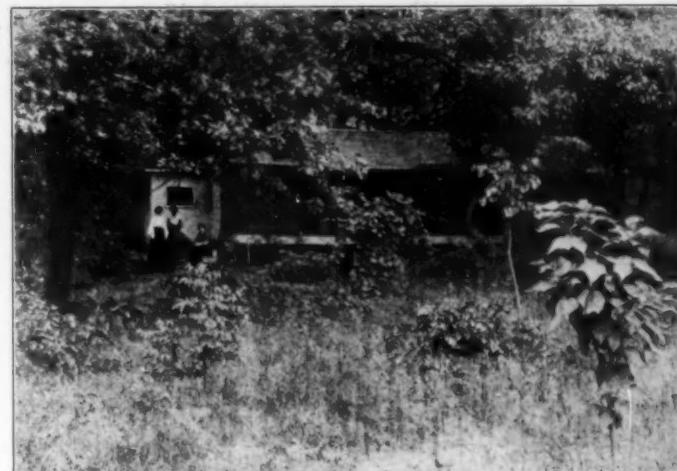
The organized church that makes Lincoln Center its home with Mr. Jones as its permanent minister has this as a "Bond of Union": "We join ourselves together in the interest of morality and religion, as interpreted by the growing thought and purest lives of humanity, hoping thereby to bear one another's burdens and promote truth,

Emerson Hall, Civics Room, Browning Room, Auditorium, Directors' Room, Rest Room, Picture Room, The Hill Reading Room, the Library, the Nancy Hanks Room, Reception Room, Unity Room, the Office, the Lincoln Center Shop, the Minister's Study, Manual Training, Dark Rooms, the Magazine Dispensary, are some of the titles in the bulletin that are more or less self-explanatory.

Sixteen workers and helpers are in permanent residence in the building. The whole plant represents an investment of over \$200,000, every cent of which is paid. The Annual Expense Budget is about \$15,000, which was provided for last year. Steps are now being taken by which the whole tangible plant will be transferred to a self-perpetuating Board of Charter Members, that will further emphasize its non-sectarian and inclusive character. The object set forth in the articles of the new incorporation is as follows:

"The advancement of the physical, intellectual, social, civic, moral, and religious interests of humanity, irrespective of age, sex, creed, race, condition, or political opinion, and in the furtherance thereof, the maintenance of institutions of learning and philanthropy."

Some of Chicago's leading citizens, men and women, have consented to accept positions among the charter-members. The inclusive character of the project is exemplified not only by the personnel of those interested, which includes Jew and Gentile, orthodox and liberal, but in the cordial way in which



UNITY CLUB LONGHOUSE, TOWER HILL.

it is adopted as a neighborhood utility and the cordial support it receives at the hands of neighboring clergy and church-members of all denominations. In the dedication programme appeared the names of representatives of all phases of religious life, reaching from the Salvation Army to the Ethical Culture Society. Four beautiful bronze tablets decorate and interpret the building on the exterior, as follows:

On the east front:

THIS BUILDING IS DEDICATED  
TO PUBLIC SERVICE HONORING THE  
MEMORY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN,  
DEMOCRAT.

On the west front:

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE  
1905  
LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES  
MIGHT AND IN THAT FAITH DARE  
TO DO OUR DUTY.

On the right of the vestibule:

ALL SOULS CHURCH  
Here let no man be stranger.



WESTHOPE COTTAGE.

On the left of the vestibule:

THE HILL READING ROOM

Knowledge is the Surest Basis of Public  
Happiness.

The second will be recognized as the closing sentence of Lincoln's great Cooper Union speech. The fourth, not so readily recognized, is from the writings of George Washington.

Tower Hill is Mr. Jones' one great, soul-absorbing recreation. It was his favorite point as a boy. During the Territorial history of Wisconsin lead was brought here in large quantities to the shot-tower, perched on top of a high bluff, from which the molten metal was dropped through a hole into the water below.

Eighteen years ago Mr. Jones returned to Tower Hill to find his favorite pine-grove burned off, owing to the spreading of the camp-fire of careless vandals. Then and there he resolved to buy up the land and thus gain possession so that he could establish a summer place. For years it had been the rendezvous of stray sheep, pigs and bad boys. The surveyors in platting the hill labeled the open space on their maps as Thistle Park, be-

cause it was nothing but a patch of thistles and sand burrs.

The Rev. W. C. Gannett, now of Rochester, and the Rev. S. S. Hunting, of Iowa, now dead, entered into Mr. Jones' plans. Indeed they, with others, were in his mind when his resolution was taken. He wanted a place of rest for weary preachers, school teachers of both sexes, people with small incomes and

few friends, where they could escape from the confinements of the city and come close to the heart of nature, living at the minimum of cost. A place where the offensive intrusion of "style" would be unknown, and there would be none of the fashionable dullness of the ordinary resort,—the place that announces itself with a capital R. He wanted to have a place where life would be reduced to the minimum of wear and tear, where it would be "bad form" for a lady to change her dress save in the interests of cleanliness and personal comfort, a place where men might go around in their shirt sleeves, a place, in short, where *men* and *women* are valued more than dress, fashion and show.

The plans were speedily formulated. The barren patch was planted out in trees and was soon a charming place of beauty. Nature is left alone. There is no cutting, no pruning even, save when necessary. There are no weeds at Tower Hill, for every flower that grows is God's flower, and is welcomed as such. The leaves when they fall are never swept up. There is no "landscape gardening" (thank God!). Everything is natural, unrestrained, wild. Where trees have come up spontaneously they have been

protected and cared for. In all there are eighty acres belonging to the Tower Hill Association.

During two months of the summer, Mr. Jones and others reside there and studies begin. There are three centers of study. 1. The first is poetry, in which the chief objects are Browning, Whitman, Emerson and Ruskin. 2. The second is religion in its undogmatic phases. A seven years' course is arranged, which covers the ground from the primitive man and the beginnings of religious feelings and emotions up to (or down to) the latest developments in Ruskin, Emerson and other modern prophets. 3. Natural studies. In these no books are used, and even a lens is not considered necessary. Things the children can catch in the air, on the trees, in the grass, on the sand, in the earth, are fine material for study. The golden digger is watched, the wasps are studied, the birds are named, and all without trap, net, gun or other weapon. Flowers are studied *on the stem*. Not only is there no shooting, no killing allowed, but there is no picking of flowers within the limits of Tower Hill. The country people, the farmers, their wives, children, and helpers, come there for Sunday inspiration, and university people, school teachers and preachers come and enjoy its privileges.

And need it be said that Jenkin Lloyd Jones is the moving spirit and controlling mind in it all? Here he is at home. His ancestral Welsh blood asserts itself. He has his bed put up on high stilts, so that he has a fine sweep of outlook over the river. His room has no front except mosquito-netting, and no window. There he lies, his eyes wandering over the range of river and tree growth where as a bare-foot-lad he used to hunt cows, and is "Jenk. Jones" to all the people for twenty miles around. And, by the way, that reminds me of another fine custom followed at Tower Hill. All name-handles are left behind in Chicago and elsewhere when the annual pilgrimage to Tower Hill is taken.

Daily Mr. Jones takes his gallop on his fine horse, "Roos"—the name suggests his love of Browning's "How they brought the good news,"—and goes to see his farmer friends. And how I wish there were space left to me to tell of the sermons he brings back to the city-dwellers as the result of these outings into the wild, rich, and beautiful out-of-doors of God. He preaches with realistic vividness the joy of loving nature, the blessedness of little, of common things, the inspiration that comes from meeting the poorest and hardest working of God's children. He demonstrates his belief in the dignity of labor by personally dignifying the laborer and his work; he radiates the spirit and power of the worker. He believes in the largeness of life and the largeness of men and women when they are free from the trammels of convention, artificiality and prejudice. He brings the uprightness of the pine's growth, the sweetness of the flower's odor, the modesty of the violet, the purity of the lily, the warm, red life of the rose, the natural joyousness of the frisking calves, colts, and lambs, the unrestrained vigor and power of the plough horses, the dash and energy of the blooded team horses, the clarity of the pure country atmosphere, the healthful healing of its balsamic odors, the "joy of mere living"—all these and a thousand other things, thoughts and feelings he brings home to his congregations when he returns from the country. His books, *Jess*, and its companion, *A Search for An Infidel*, are "Bits of Wayside Gospel" that have become classic, fit to reign in men's hearts side by side with the works of Thoreau, Gilbert White, Burroughs and John Muir. Jess was his gallant horse, given him by Chicago friends. The story is a beautiful tribute to the noble qualities of a noble companion, even though that companion be regarded as belonging to the "brute" creation.

No notice of Mr. Jones' work will be complete without mention of *The Faith That Makes Faithful*, the joint product

of William C. Gannett and Mr. Jones, whose friendships and coöperative sympathies are as the ties that bind David and Jonathan. This little volume, published over twenty years ago, has been translated into German, French and the Scandinavian languages. An English edition was published with a special introduction by Lady Aberdeen. It is now in its thirty-fifth thousand and is still selling. It would be hard to find a volume of sermons which has as wide a circulation and as long a life, and the reason is not far to seek: It deals with the simple fundamentals of the spiritual life and consequently reaches the needs of the soul from Catholicism to Agnosticism. "Blessed be Drudgery," "Faithfulness," "Tenderness," "A Cup of Cold Water," and "The Seamless Robe" are titles that are self-interpretative and indicate the quality of the book.

In religion Jones is broad without being weak; loving without being namby-pamby, stimulating without harshness or insolent domination; helpful and tender to the weak and erring and demanding of the strong that they shall do all they can to bear the burdens of the weak.

His strong point is Unity. Why enlarge on differences. The thing to do is to show the points upon which different churches are agreed.

On one occasion Frances Willard was introducing Mr. Jones to a W. C. T. U. audience. The great woman leader said: "It is my privilege to introduce to the W. C. T. U. one who is a member in good and regular standing. The 'W.' excludes him necessarily; we are not so

sure about the 'C.'; he does not always agree with us in our method of handling the 'T,' but he makes such an everlasting fuss about the 'U.' that we've concluded to let him in as a full member."

And that is his spirit. He extends the hand of brotherhood to all honest workers. He commends the motive of the Social Purity League, and yet openly and frankly avows his sympathy for a man whose work the League has not understood, has condemned and sent to prison.

It is in this clean-cut clarity of vision and broad catholicity of soul that those who know Jenkin Lloyd Jones find his charm and power. The professor of every religion and creed who seeks to live aright and according to the highest finds in him a warm friend and brother.

When Charles Wagner, the great Parisian pastor, whose *Simple Life* aroused the thought of America, was here preaching and lecturing, he made his home with Mr. Jones during his stay in Chicago. Together these two kindred souls tramped up and down the streets of the city, finding in each other a rich companionship. The same may be said of Prince Volkonsky of Russia, and Professor Bonet-Maury of Paris, and many another prominent visitor from over the seas who has found the same comradeship. He is a "comradely" soul, a radiating power for good, a furnace of love and helpfulness, and I can only regret that, in this poor and inadequate sketch, I have so incompetently presented so noble a man to the readers of THE ARENA.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.  
New York City.

## SOME RESULTS IN MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY H. GARDNER MCKERROW

THE SEDUCTION of so many of our municipal boards of government by seekers after public franchises; the almost irresistible temptation to civic dishonesty by the unsleeping pressure of these conscienceless aggregations of capital, has led many earnest and clear-thinking men in this country to believe that the only way out of the slough of corruption which is disgracing American cities to-day, is by the municipal-ownership of public utilities.

There is a danger, however, that in our eagerness to be rid of "the ills we have" we may "fly to others that we know not of."

The results of municipal-ownership in other parts of the world do not seem from a strictly practical point-of-view, to prove that this theory contains the regenerative germ which we so grievously need.

It is not my intention to discuss the ethics of municipal-ownership of public utilities at this time, nor to analyze the feasibility or otherwise of applying this principle to American conditions.

It is a question which is coming rapidly to the front in this country, and it is one which has a special interest for every citizen who has taxes to pay or property interests to conserve.

In most of the public discussions on the subject, which have been becoming more and more frequent during the past two years, the advocates of municipal-ownership have clearly been in evidence than its critics; their optimistic accounts of its operation in other countries have been laid before the American public in numberless ways, and we have been enthusiastically assured that the adoption of this principle will go far towards eliminating the increasing bur-

dens of what is commonly called "corporate greed."

Its opponents on the other hand have for the most part been people with a very palpable "axe to grind"; representatives of the large private corporations, gas companies, transportation companies, electric lighting and power companies, whose vested interests would be the first threatened, and whose judgment may therefore be regarded as distinctly biased.

The discussion has been for the most part academic and self-interested rather than business-like; on the one side theorists, college professors, enthusiasts with the Socialistic bee buzzing in their mental organizations have stood forth as its champions, while on the other, interested advocates, retained attorneys and special-pleaders have assumed the burden of the argument.

There is, however, a strictly business side to the problem, a side in which the taxpayer and the property-owner is chiefly interested, and which resolves itself into a question as to whether municipal-ownership of public utilities has so far proved itself to be, on the whole, profitable or not.

Certainly the most interesting field to Americans, for this consideration, is England, where the idea has been extensively developed, and where the commercial and social conditions and the scale of living are more nearly on a par with those of this country, than is to be found elsewhere.

It has been one of the fundamental principles of what we may term Anglo-Saxon forms of government, that there has been what Professor Hugo Meyer has called "The minimum of governmental intervention,—that priceless heritage bequeathed to us by our forefathers"—with private privilege and private in-

dustry. The infringement of this principle surely requires that every man who has something to lose whether it be property or labor should give the form and extent of that infringement his most earnest thought. To what extent should governmental interference with private industry, once allowed, be permitted? Where should the line be drawn? Where should it cease?

Some idea of what has been done by municipalities in England may be gained from what was to be found in the *Bristol Times* for November 7, 1906, in which the following list of professions and trades, carried on by the Bristol Corporation was given: "Baths and wash-houses, masons, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, gas-fitters, excavations, hauliers, carriers, warehousemen, timber-running, sawyers, paviors, painters, engineers, architects, tar-paviors, wheelwrights, cart-builders, harness-makers, farriers, blacksmiths, nurserymen, makers of greenhouses, grave-diggers, wharfingers, cranage, electric light, gas light, pile drivers, money-lenders, meat markets, vegetable markets, lodging-houses, dredgers and solicitors, to say nothing of the customary occupations of schoolmasters, librarians, property assessors, and so on."

The Socialist party in England, which has made municipal-ownership its own, frankly stated in the programme for its recent attack on the London County Council in *The People*, its official organ, of September 30, 1906, that it looked for "Municipal workshops, municipal stores, municipal milk and bread-shops, municipal dairy farms, municipal cottages, free traveling to and from work, municipal coal stores and collieries, municipal farm colonies for the unemployed paid for by a direct tax on incomes derived from private industrial concerns, and municipal clothing factories." These are ingeniously termed "the stepping-stones" in the Socialist programme.

At a recent discussion at the Society of Arts in London, Lord Wemyss, addressing Mr. John Burns, one of the labor

leaders in Parliament, now President of the Local Government Board, and a member of the present Liberal Cabinet, said: "I should like to ask Mr. Burns whether it is his view that all private property, what I should call the instruments of production, should be in the hands of the State or the Municipality?" And Mr. Burns' answer was: "Yes, I most certainly do."

Can any intelligent man, whether he be what is called a business man or a working man, look upon this without pausing to ask himself whether the community would be altogether safe in entrusting its entire future to the control of a political body whose avowed aims are thus stated? Would it be to the advantage of the working-classes; not the skilled, self-supporting, self-respecting artisans be it noted, but the formless, inarticulate, untrained, uneducated masses which inevitably compose the lowest stratum of the social structure in all countries; to have the incentives for individual effort removed, and all the fundamental necessities of life provided by the community at the expense of the more intelligent and better-fitted classes?

The extent to which municipal control has been carried in England may be seen in the fact that there were in March, 1904, no less than 1,045 water undertakings owned either by the municipalities or by local boards, representing an invested capital of \$330,914,491; 260 gas undertakings, representing a capital investment of \$180,563,107; 334 electricity undertakings, representing a capital investment of \$155,728,000 and 162 tramways undertakings, representing a capital investment of \$136,556,540, giving a grand total of 1,801 municipal undertakings, with a capital investment of \$803,762,138.

Of course, the only justification for municipalities employing the ratepayers' money for such incursions into heretofore privately controlled fields of endeavor lies in an ultimate saving to the ratepayer, either by a reduction of the rates, or by the showing of adequate net profits on

the capital invested, as a result of operation.

The advocates of municipal-ownership are accustomed to point to individual instances of municipalities where, they claim, net profits on the conduct of such undertakings are shown. As a rule, in doing this they neither state the amount of capital invested, nor do they show the amount that is set aside for depreciation and renewals.

The Local Government Board in England issued in February, 1903, a return dealing with the earning capacity of undertakings conducted by 299 out of 317 municipalities in England and Wales (London excluded) operating with a population of 13,000,000. On these the capital investment was \$606,000,000, of which \$504,000,000 was outstanding indebtedness, while the total net revenue was less than \$1,900,000, or not quite one-third of one per cent., and even with this meager return, the total amount set aside for depreciation was less than \$1,000,000, or about one-sixth of one per cent.

The Glasgow *Herald* of August 23, 1906, stated that on a revenue of more than £5,000,000 from commercial undertakings, the Scotch municipalities reported a surplus revenue of just £85,904, or about 1.70 per cent.

If the same method of computing the costs of municipally-owned undertakings were employed which are the rule in private concerns, the profits would disappear in almost every case, and heavy deficits would be substituted. The municipalities in Great Britain are not subject to Government audit, and some of the methods of book-keeping employed are, to put it mildly, questionable to a degree. Fixed or establishment charges, legal and official expenses, are commonly charged to general expense instead of to the particular undertaking for which they were incurred, while in the majority of cases an entirely inadequate sum is set aside for depreciation.

Thus, at a meeting of the London County Council on October 16, 1906, a

report was made, after several months' delay, showing the cost of every street widening which had been undertaken in connection with the establishment of municipal tramways. This report gave a total expenditure for this purpose of £4,044,844, of which only £377,260—less than 10 per cent.—had been charged to tramway account. And this in spite of a definite understanding, previously established, that one-third should be so charged. The result of this is that 90 per cent. of this expense, undertaken solely on behalf of the tramways, has been charged, not against the undertaking itself, but against general London taxation.

In a recent official issue of returns it was stated that out of 171 municipal electric lighting departments, 57 set aside no fund for depreciation and renewals of plant; 62 set aside three per cent. or less, while 23 of this number set aside less than one per cent.

In electric street-railways, out of 60 plants, 18 make no provision at all for depreciation, 13 make no fixed amount, while 15 set aside what are called the "net" profits, which are for the most part non-existent. It is a matter of common knowledge among practical men that the depreciation allowance for plants of this kind should be five per cent.

Numberless instances of this might be given, but for the compass of this article it is only possible to give two or three well-authenticated examples to illustrate a method which is sufficiently widespread to be called common if not usual.

*Bermondsey.* Mr. R. Stewart Bain, the Managing Director of the London Electric Supply Corporation sent to the *Times* of the 21st November, 1906, a copy of a letter which he has addressed to the Local Government Board in regard to the electricity accounts of Bermondsey and Southwark. In regard to Bermondsey he states that his company made an offer for public lighting which would have shown a saving of £1,190, and also that expenses have been undercharged for the dust destructor, rates and taxes, law and parliamentary charges,

and depreciation, which would show a loss on the year's working of £4,332, instead of a profit of £3,660, as claimed.

*Southwark.* In regard to Southwark, Mr. Bain states that his company offered to supply electric light at a saving of £960, and that rates and taxes, parliamentary charges, and depreciation were under-charged, and that if the accounts had been properly prepared there is a loss on the year's working of £4,044 instead of a profit of £379. He maintains that in the case of both boroughs the amount charged for administration expenses is inadequate.

*Islington.* The *Journal of Gas Lighting*, November 20, 1906, states that the London County Council through their Finance Committee have been chiding the Islington Borough Council regarding their reserve fund, which has, it turns out, only a paper existence. The accounts for the last financial year showed a balance to the account of £14,139, but this is not represented by cash or investments, but only by book-debts and stores. This, as the Committee have pointed out, is not an effective or satisfactory reserve fund.

Under these conditions of book-keeping it is practically impossible to tell what profits, if any, are being made by the municipalities, except that it is a fair assumption that if each undertaking was made to bear its own costs, and to set aside a proper sum for renewals and depreciation, the announced net profits would be annihilated.

To give a concrete illustration of the way in which at least one well-known chartered accountant regards these methods, let me quote from the *London Times* of January 17, 1903, in which this gentleman writes regarding municipal book-keeping: "It is, unfortunately, so easy to juggle with municipal accounts that after much research and thought, I feel obliged to give up the task of analyzing the trading accounts of municipalities. One never knows where they are going to have you."

If, therefore, these propositions under

the ordinary accepted tests of commercial success do not show a profitable result, the only other justification for which we can look is that they shall result in a reduction of the rates. But here again municipal-ownership fails, on general averages, to justify its existence. Here again I will utilize only a few out of numbers of possible illustrations.

The *Western Mail*, Cardiff, on the 21st November, 1906, in an article on the return prepared by the Borough Treasurer of Preston, giving the amounts in pounds, by which profits from municipal trading have reduced the rates, states that: "The profits at Swansea are said to have reduced the rates by 8d. in the pound. The profits on the markets, telephones, slaughter houses, cottages, and estates owned, amount to £14,154, but the loss on the electric light, water works, town improvement scheme, dust destructor, and cemeteries, amounts to £25,906, or a net loss of £11,752. Instead of the rates being relieved by 8d. in the pound, they are really increased by something like 7d."

"In a rough statement in regard to Cardiff it is shown that the profits amount to £9,788, and the losses to £13,840, or a net loss of £4,052, so that the relief claimed of 1½d. in the pound vanishes altogether."

Mr. J. Whittaker, President of the City of Bradford Ratepayers' Association, said on October 4, 1906: "The increasing rates are driving industries away, making employment difficult to get, and causing many houses to be empty. No member of the Corporation would attempt to work his business on similar lines to those of the municipality."

Some of the methods which have been employed to show the benefits received by the rates from municipal trading are unique, thus, a recent report of the gas committee of the City of Nottingham shows that \$80,000\* was taken from the

\*In this and subsequent instances where figures are given in terms of American currency, \$5 to £1 has been taken, and the amounts given in round numbers.

depreciation fund, \$65,000 was borrowed, and thus \$135,000 was contributed by the municipal enterprises to the relief of the local rates. In Manchester, according to a public statement made by Lord Avebury (formerly Sir John Lubbock), the city council, desiring to show a contribution of \$250,000 to the local rates, and as there was no surplus which could be used for the purpose, raised the price of gas six cents per 1,000 feet, and so secured the funds.

Mr. W. Hunt, ex-elective auditor of Salford, in an article on the municipal finances of the Borough states: "The sum total available for relief of the rates from the 'Trading' departments of the Corporation during the past year amounted to £49,936. This would be gratifying if it were not for the fact that in order to avoid increases in the rates, the Finance Committee have from time to time appropriated sums which ought legitimately to have been set aside to avoid obsolescence in plant and machinery. This has especially been the case with the electric light and tramway undertakings." *Manchester Evening News*, October 9, 1906.

The amount of rates collected in England and Wales at two different periods give the following results:

1888-89,	.....	\$137,500,000
1903-04,	.....	265,000,000

an increase of about 93 per cent. in 15 years. And this in spite of the fact that in this same period of 15 years, Government grants to local rates have been as follows:

1888-89,	.....	\$23,750,000
1903-04,	.....	78,000,000

an increase of about 225 per cent. in 15 years, or more than treble.

In that same period the population in England and Wales has increased only from 28,143,000 to 33,378,338, or about 19 per cent., while the ratable values have gone from about \$750,000,000 to about \$975,000,000, an increase of 31 per cent. in this period, or just one-third of the increase in rates. This would cer-

tainly seem to show that municipal trading has not resulted in a reduction in the rates taking into consideration the relative increase of population and ratable values.

The first report of the Committee on Imperial and Local Revenue and Expenditure of the United Kingdom appointed by the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on the 4th October, 1905, stated: "It is significant that whilst Imperial Expenditure exceeded that of local authorities up to the year 1888-89, the expenditure of the latter has since that year increased by leaps and bounds, so that in the year 1904-05 we estimate that the local expenditure of the United Kingdom was over \$150,000,000 in excess of that of the State. Some portion of the increased expenditure of the local authorities must be attributed to municipal trading operations, but it must nevertheless be borne in mind that these have not been instrumental in reducing local rates. On the contrary a closer examination of the figures would reveal the disquieting fact that the extension of municipal trading has been accompanied by an accelerated increase in local rates and Government contributions."

Another aspect of the situation which will at once seize the attention of business men is the astounding extravagance of the English municipalities and the enormous increase of the local debt. In 1888-89 the outstanding local loans of England and Wales reached the respectable figure of \$977,500,000; in 1903-04 they had risen to \$1,970,000,000, an increase of about 102 per cent. in 15 years.

In many cases expensive plants have been put down with a degree of reckless disregard of the first principles of commercial prudence as to payment therefor, which can only be regarded as against public interests, and which must inevitably put a heavy burden upon posterity, which will thus be left to pay for equipments long since worn out and thrown away, in addition to what its own immediate burdens may be.

In Huddersfield the tramways undertaking has worn out its third set of rails, although the first is not yet paid for, and will not be for forty years. In more than half of the electric lighting stations in London the plant is already obsolete, although the cost of the original equipment has not yet been paid.

Professor Roberts of Denver University, speaking of the City of Nottingham, says that at the present rate of earning and redemption of indebtedness, the municipal gas-plant will not be paid for before the year 2000.

Mr. D. Drummond Fraser, a banker in Manchester, addressing the Statistical Society, said recently: "The insatiable borrowing capacity of our municipalities is exemplified in the daily advertisements. It is self-evident that the floating capital of the country is being seriously impaired by its withdrawal from bank deposits into the fixed capital expenditure of the municipalities. Repayment can only be made by the municipalities by fresh borrowing, and floating capital is thus turned into fixed capital."

This mortgaging of the future has now attracted the attention of the Government and a distinct check to this kind of frenzied finance has been observable; measures have been undertaken to prevent municipalities from issuing loans for renewals until the original loans for equipment are paid off, and while this will entail heavy drafts on resources in ten or fifteen years from now, yet it is unquestionably a proper step, undertaken none too soon.

One of the most recent champions of municipal-ownership, Dr. Frederic C. Howe, is responsible for certain statements in connection with another phase of the question, which are apt to be misleading. These statements received the authoritative endorsement of the United States Government, having been delivered through the medium of the "Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor" from Washington, in January, 1906. They have more recently still been repeated in an article

by Dr. Howe in *Scribner's Magazine* of January, 1907. In the Bulletin, Dr. Howe makes the unqualified statements that "Every voter in England is a taxpayer or a property owner, and he feels his taxes because he pays directly. Local taxes are largely assessed against the tenant or occupier, and not against the owner. We have no appreciation in America of the commanding interest of the poorest householder or tenant in the tax rate," and again in the same publication he states, "Every voter is a taxpayer, the tax is paid largely by the tenant. As a means of stimulating interest in local matters, it is evidently satisfactory."

Dr. Howe leaves out of consideration altogether two classes of voters who are not direct ratepayers in the proper sense of the word, those who go by the name of "latch-key" voters, and those who are called "compound householders." In the former I am not especially interested at the present moment; the name is sufficiently expressive to show clearly what they are; I will simply state that they compose a very large class of those exercising the local franchise.

The growth of the principle of compound householding, however, is causing a great deal of serious apprehension among thinking Englishmen, and it is so absolutely the contrary of what Dr. Howe states to be the fact, that it is worthy of some special attention as bearing forcefully on the question of municipal-ownership.

Compound householding is a method whereby the rates are paid by the landlord, and not by the tenant, a corresponding charge being made against the tenant in the amount of rent he pays. As this is largely, if not exclusively, employed among the poorest and least intelligent classes of the population in the large cities, it is almost impossible to persuade a compound householder that he has any interest at all in the rates, or in what is done with the ratepayers' money. The tenant does, undoubtedly, pay the rate indirectly, but he is generally under the

conviction that he does not, and his interest in municipal affairs is correspondingly lessened.

This has become such an evil that the Poplar Borough Municipal Alliance in London has published a special rent card which has been prepared for the use of tenants; the use of which it is proposed to make compulsory, and which states in tabulated form what rate a tenant pays in the rent of his house, with the local rate stated at a given figure.

In London alone, in 1901, out of 703,000 assessments, 309,500 houses not exceeding \$100 ratable value, were occupied by tenants who were not personally called upon by the rate collector. Yet every one of these tenants had a vote. It is estimated that nearly half the municipal electors of the metropolis are not direct ratepayers, while the town clerk of Birmingham, Mr. Edward Orford Smith, in his evidence before the Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading, stated that from 70 to 75 per cent. of the people of Birmingham lived in houses the rates of which were paid by the landlords.

Mr. Gladstone defended this system on the ground that it facilitates collection, but what advantage there may be in this direction is certainly not commensurate with the evil it engenders in removing the tenant from personal touch and interest in the local rates and the expenditure of the ratepayers' money.

A correspondingly great evil in the converse direction is the increasing burden which is being placed upon private corporations as contributors to the rates, but which have no votes and no voice whatever in the local policies.

Lord Avebury, speaking in London, on July 12, 1906, said: "The Midland Railway pays one-eighth of all the rates in Derby; one ship-building company pays one-sixth of all the rates at Jarrow, and yet they neither of them have a single vote. Thus, while thousands who pay no rates have votes, those who pay thousands in rates have none."

On the same occasion, C. J. C. Scott

said that: "The London and India Docks Company contribute \$625,000 a year towards local rates and taxes, without one vote, and in addition they make and maintain their own roads, and do their own scavenging and lighting."

The *Times* of September 21, 1902, stated that: "The local rates and taxes paid by railway companies in the United Kingdom rose from \$14,000,000 in 1894 to \$18,500,000 in 1900, while in local rates alone one of the great London railway companies paid \$380,000 in 1882, \$550,000 in 1892, and \$1,000,000 in 1901, without having any share in the control and expenditure of the money it provided.

There is a distinct movement coming into being in England in favor of some form of franchise for the corporations which contribute so largely to the rates, and to those who see impending danger in the abandonment of all forms of local government to collective control, this seems to open up the one promising avenue leading towards communal sanity and civil peace.

As an illustration of this I may cite an account given in the *Times* of August 3, 1906, in which it is stated that: "Mr. W. G. Rathbone, who presided at the meeting of the London and County Banking Company on August 2, 1906, referred to the strong feeling which had arisen among the public, and among some of the municipalities themselves, that local borrowing and expenditure had gone too far and must be checked, and suggested that in order that this reform might be carried out and made permanent the first essential seemed to be an amended system of representation, so that corporations like a bank should have some voice in the administration and some control over the expenditure of the rates which they contributed. The rates paid by their own bank last year, he mentioned, amounted to \$155,000. They had risen more than 25 per cent. in the last five years and were still rising."

And again, in the *Morning Post*, of

September 12, 1906: "At a meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce at Bristol, on September 11, 1906, it was agreed by a large majority to organize a deputation to the government complaining of the total disfranchisement of the owners of business concerns carried on by limited companies which are required to pay the rates and taxes largely made for them by non-ratepayers."

That the character of the service rendered by the public utilities under municipal-ownership in England has improved is not open to question. The facilities for lighting, for transportation, and other principal functions which have come into the province of municipal exploitation are indubitably better than they were before this principle became established. But whether even this benefit can be fairly placed to the credit of municipal-ownership is open to question.

In 1870 the Tramway Act was passed by the English Parliament, under the terms of which all charters for private street-railways had to be granted, an act which has been termed "On the whole the most disastrous legislative experiment in England during the last half century." It was constructed strictly with an eye to the eventual municipal-ownership of public utilities, a question which was even then appearing above the political horizon, for it provided for a right of purchase by the local authorities at the expiration of twenty-one years and this to be on a basis of arbitrary valuation of the tramways together with all property whatsoever, including the lands and buildings. In 1882 the Electric Lighting Act, containing the same compulsory sale clause, was enacted. In 1885 this period for the transference of private property to the local authorities was extended for another period, as regards electric lighting plants. But even with this extension every privately organized company had before it the certainty that it would eventually be compelled to relinquish its property at a valuation generally far below its real worth.

Private enterprise was stultified, and no aggregation of capitalists would venture to establish modern street-railway systems, or electric light and power plants, under such conditions. At a time when the rest of the world was advancing in these respects by leaps and bounds, England was for years at a standstill. In 1896 the United States had 10,000 miles of electric tramways; in England there were just 20 miles. In 1902 there were in the United States 3,620 electric stations, in England at that time there were 457.

Even where the compulsory sale clause did not operate no private charter could be asked from Parliament without incurring the overwhelming opposition of the Municipal Corporations Association, and the amount of pressure this organization was able to bring against such applications through individual representatives in Parliament seldom failed to accomplish the annihilation of such private measures. One member of Parliament said on July 12, 1898: "There is a feeling in the country that the municipalities are organizing themselves into a gigantic monopoly with a view to strangling private enterprise in regard to the supply of electricity, at the moment of its birth."

In the meanwhile English capital was promoting electric enterprises in Copenhagen, Brussels, Paris, Bordeaux, Geneva, Madrid, Genoa, Vienna, Berlin, Barcelona, St. Petersburg and Constantinople.

Yet the same municipalities which strenuously opposed the efforts of private corporations to secure themselves and their franchises were not willing to accept the same treatment themselves, and Glasgow, one of the most energetic of the municipalities in its insistence on the twenty-one-year clause, even yet steadfastly refuses to extend its municipal street-railways into the suburbs, unless it is granted a perpetual franchise for so doing. At the present time the public facilities for transportation, lighting and power in England are far behind what they should be for a country possessing

the wealth and population that is to be found there.

It is hardly a matter for surprise therefore, nor is it very much to the credit of the municipalities, if such progress as has been made under these circumstances, offers better facilities than were possible under the complete throttling of private enterprise and initiative.

Still another point on which I may dwell for a moment, although in doing so I am aware that I am trespassing on the ethical side of the question, and that is the influence of municipal employés in national and local elections. It is estimated that in London at least five per cent. of the registered voters are employed by the municipalities and this proportion as municipal enterprises are extended, is rapidly increasing throughout the country.

The *Melbourne Argus* of Australia tells us that as regards that country: "The State servants already constitute almost a clear majority of the names on the electors' rolls."

What a tremendous effect this class of voters, properly organized, might exercise in elections! Even Mr. John Burns has said that the only remedy for, and safeguard against this danger is the disfranchisement of municipal employés.

Concurrently, with this phase of the question goes the undoubted fact that under municipal-ownership the value of labor is depreciated, and the still more portentous fact that as the workmen come to control the Council rather than the Council the workmen, the latter gain

a positively autocratic control over their own rate of wages.

Mr. Keir Hardie, is reported as saying, in the Report of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Municipal Employés Association: "As a Socialist he was naturally strongly in favor of organization among municipal employés and he was pleased to see the marvelous progress this Association had made. In going through some Parliamentary papers the other day, he came across one which fairly astounded him, for from it he learned that in this country there were over 2,000,000 municipal employés. As the total of wage-earners numbered only 14,000,000, this was very interesting. He had also found that in 1903, when there was a reduction in wages all round, the wages of municipal employés had alone increased—he might say, had doubled."

Surely the results, so far, in England; the stifling of private enterprise, which has been responsible for all the great advances in the comforts and conveniences of life, in all countries and in all ages; the extravagance and waste caused by amateur management of municipal undertakings; the growth of local indebtedness; the increase of local rates, and the significant dangers that municipal trading is giving birth to in regard to labor problems; are not sufficiently convincing and encouraging to justify one accustomed to estimate such things on a strictly practical basis, in giving the principle of municipal-ownership unqualified support.

H. GARDNER MCKERROW.  
*Boston, Mass.*

## MR. MCKERROW'S ARGUMENT AGAINST MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D.

Author of "The City for the People," "The Heart of the Railroad Problem," "The Railways, the Trusts and the People," etc.

SOME excellent illustrations of the stock arguments that are being used against municipal-ownership are to be found in the article by Mr. H. G. McKerrow. It consists mainly of statements in regard to some comparatively insignificant cases in which municipal-ownership has proved more or less unsatisfactory, and objections to municipal-ownership based on the claim that it has unduly increased the debt and taxation in Great Britain.

In regard to the first line of argument, it must always be frankly admitted that the record of municipal-ownership is not free from defects and failures, any more than the record of private-ownership, or the record of democratic government, or any other human institution. The question is not whether or no there have been some unsatisfactory results and some failures, but whether on the whole the results are superior to those secured under private-ownership in the same cities. In relation to this vital question Mr. McKerrow does not give us any facts, nor does he touch it in his argument.

If the exhibition of some undesirable results and failures were sufficient to discredit an institution, we might easily prove the folly of democratic government by recounting the history of free government in New York City, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, and other places where grafters and incompetents have been allowed to administer public affairs. Such arguments, however, are not regarded as discrediting free government at all, but only as proving the necessity of safeguarding free institutions so as to secure honest and efficient administration.

The same thing is true in regard to the history of municipal-ownership. Unless

the conditions of success,—the careful selection of men who will give the city honest and efficient administration of its public works, and the entire absence of the spoils system and partisan politics from municipal business,—unless these conditions are attended to, municipal-ownership cannot be expected to succeed.

But in the great majority of British municipalities these conditions have been attended to and thoroughly honest and efficient administration of municipal water-works, lighting plants and street-railway systems has been secured. After an experience of many years the British public is practically a unit in favor of municipal-ownership of street utilities. In Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and many other cities successes of the highest order have been achieved. This statement does not rest upon English authority alone, but is proved by the facts set forth in the Bulletin of the United States Department of Commerce and Labor for January, 1906, from which a few extracts will presently be made.

Mr. McKerrow does not tell us anything about the great successes that have been made, nor the almost unanimous feeling of the British public in favor of municipal-ownership, nor of the rapid movement toward municipalization of public utilities not only in Great Britain, but in Germany, Italy and other countries of the Continent, nor does he refer to the evidence adduced in the United States Bulletin just referred to or the Municipal-Ownership number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, or any of the other authoritative presentations of the facts about municipal-ownership in Great Britain.

In dealing with the increase of debt

and taxation, Mr. McKerrow does not inform us that the increase of taxation is due to the increased expenditure for sanitary and educational purposes, under the requirements of laws passed by Parliament, and is not the result of public-ownership of water-works, lighting plants and tramways, as the reader would naturally infer from his statements.

The fact is that local taxes have greatly increased in the United States and Europe as well as in Great Britain, and that they have increased even more in cities where there has been little or no movement in the direction of municipal-ownership of lighting and transit than in cities where the municipal-ownership movement has been strong. The *English Municipal Year-Book* gives the tax rates for all British municipalities, and you have only to turn to the tables of local rates to see that the leading municipal-ownership cities have much lower tax rates than many municipalities where street services are still in private hands. For example: the tax rate in Glasgow is less than half what it is in a large number of places that have far less development of municipal-ownership. In London, where the increase of local taxes in the decade 1890-1900 was enormous—larger than in almost any other city, there was very little public-ownership, the city having no municipal gas-works, only partial municipalization of water-works and electric plants, and, until the last two or three years, practically all the street-railways were privately operated.

How fallacious is the whole argument about the increase of local taxation as made by the opponents of municipal-ownership will be made manifest by the following extracts from the United States Bulletin already referred to:

"In the large towns the street-railways, gas, water, electric lighting, and markets rarely, if ever, show a deficit. The complaint is more frequently made that they make too large a profit out of the consumer and use the net earnings to relieve

taxation rather than reduce the price or charge to the user."

Here are a few of the facts in regard to the contributions of city street-railways in reduction of local taxes, as stated on page 45 of the United States Bulletin:

City Tramway.	Annual Contribution in Relief of Taxes.
Leeds, . . . . .	\$253,058
Manchester, . . . . .	243,325
Liverpool, . . . . .	156,122
Glasgow, . . . . .	121,063
Nottingham, . . . . .	63,265
Salford, . . . . .	58,398
Hull, . . . . .	55,965

Now take some of the facts in regard to the relief of taxes from city gas, from page 39 of the same Bulletin:

City Gas Works.	Annual Contribution in Relief of Taxes.
Belfast, . . . . .	\$123,818
Birmingham, . . . . .	265,351
Bolton, . . . . .	107,394
Darlington, . . . . .	41,365
Halifax, . . . . .	44,903
Leeds, . . . . .	78,448
Leicester, . . . . .	228,764
Manchester, . . . . .	291,000

All these payments in relief of taxes are in addition to the payment of ordinary taxes which are levied on all city works just as if they were private property.

On page 13 the Bulletin says:

"Local rates or taxes in Great Britain have increased in recent years, but this is attributable to improved sanitation, to expenditure for schools, health, parks, and slum-clearance schemes, which have been everywhere rendered necessary by the conditions of city life. Moreover, it is pointed out that many of these burdens were imposed upon the cities by act of Parliament, regardless of local wishes in the matter. The reproductive undertakings are rarely a burden on the tax rate."

The story is told in the following data from Sir Henry Fowler's "Return made to Parliament of reproductive municipal

undertakings" for 1902, the latest of these returns at hand:

	Average Annual
	Net Profit.
City Plants.	
Water-works, . . . . .	193 . . . . . \$488,608
Gas-works, . . . . .	97 . . . . . 1,921,415
Electric supply, . . . . .	102 . . . . . *56,972
Tramways owned and worked by municipality, . . . . .	29 . . . . . 308,586
Tramways owned by municipality but leased and operated by private company, . . . . .	16 . . . . . 84,746
Total average net profit, . . . . .	\$2,786,383

The Labor Bulletin goes on to say, on page 14:

"The average annual excess of net profits over net losses for the total 437 undertakings according to the above official report was £572,564 (\$2,786,383). The net profits were in most cases applied to the relief of local taxation."

The Bulletin further says, pages 17, 25-26:

"As a rule the wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment under municipal control have been greatly improved. Along with this has grown up a jealous watchfulness on the part of the public, which would not tolerate any influence from its employés or efforts to exploit a department. The men themselves seem to recognize their official position, and as the public service is much sought after they are careful not to put their positions in jeopardy."

"An examination of the water, gas, tramway, electricity, and telephone undertakings (in so far as the latter have been municipalized) shows that the change from private to public operation has resulted in—

1. Marked reduction in rates and charges to consumers.

2. Greater economy in operation through lower interest charges, and great extension of use.

3. In many instances a considerable relief to the burden of taxation.

\*Some of the electric plants make a deficit and put the average on the wrong side.

4. A coördinated municipal policy by which the city and its undertakings are made to work together and with one another. This is true as to health and cleanliness, in policing and lighting, in the administration of the streets and public places, in the unification of all departments working through the common body—the town council. Friction is eliminated, and one department is made to serve another and the public.

5. A comprehensive housing policy has been rendered possible, and an ultimate relief of the tenement population.

6. The condition of the very poor has been improved through cheap and abundant water, through cheaper and more available gas for lighting and heat, and through cheaper transit.

7. The condition of the employés has been greatly improved. Thousands of men have been raised to a fair wage, and relieved from the fear of capricious dismissal. Their service has been dignified, and their standard of living improved, not only by better wages, but by shorter hours."

On pages 67 and 68 the Bulletin shows how municipal-ownership of street-railways in many cities reduced the hours by 48 per cent. and at the same time increased wages by not less than 42 per cent. Hours were cut from 70, 77, 84, and even 95 per week under the companies, to 54, 60, and 65 under city management, 60 hours per week being the rule under municipal-ownership.

In Glasgow municipal-ownership of street-railways greatly improved the service, made the tramway system, in fact, the best in Great Britain, reduced the rates by 33 per cent., and later by 50 per cent., cut the hours from 11 and 12 per day, or 77 and 84 per week, to 10 per day, and later to 9 per day, or 54 per week, and raised wages 15 per cent. to 25 per cent., with subsequent increases, so that now a man who has been three years in the service gets 65 per cent. more pay per hour than under the company régime.

In addition to all this the city trams have paid off about half the capital cost and are now worth five million dollars more in actual physical value than the remainder of the debt resting upon the works. The railways pay each year a large amount into sinking-fund and reserve, put \$125,000 to the public credit in the Common Good, and show a considerable surplus above all costs of operation, interest, taxes, sinking and reserve funds, and payment to the Common Good.\*

A famous railroad president from the United States, familiar with street-railway systems in this country and in Europe, after examining the Glasgow tramways, said: "This is the best managed street-railway system I have ever seen."

The successes with municipal tramways in Manchester, Liverpool and other cities have been equally remarkable, and the British people believe they have abundant proof in their experience, not only with street-railways, but with lighting plants, that municipal-ownership pays financially, politically and morally.

Mr. McKerrow's paper from first to last shows a strong bias in favor of private-ownership—a bias indeed that leads him to omit all reference to the most important facts in the field of municipal-ownership and the facts which completely nullify the inferences that would naturally be drawn from his unqualified statements in regard to debt and taxation, must indeed be vigorous. Almost as regrettable as the omission of the data necessary to draw any true conclusions on the subject

\*Mr. McKerrow carefully refrains from telling us anything about these important facts, but complains that the Glasgow management refuses to extend the street-railways into the suburbs. He does not tell his readers, however, that what he means by suburbs is the outlying towns and not the suburbs of the city itself, nor that the reason the Glasgow management does not largely extend the street-railways to outlying towns is the fact that the steam-railways, under the regulations of Parliament and the Board of Trade, give an excellent suburban service at exceedingly low rates—rates against which it is folly for the street-railways to try to compete. Where steam-railways carry passengers eight or ten miles out for a penny (2 cents) a trip, and run frequent trains, where is the use in

is the fact that Mr. McKerrow confines himself to the financial aspects of the question. But even if he had succeeded or could succeed in making out a case against municipal-ownership on financial grounds, it would still be true that the financial aspect of the question is by far the least important of all the great divisions of the subject. Strong as is the financial argument for municipal-ownership of franchise utilities, the political and moral arguments are far stronger. The chief cause of political corruption in our great cities is the pressure of the franchise-holding or franchise-desiring corporations upon the city governments, and the abolition of such corporate franchises means the removal of the chief cause of political corruption; and if public ownership and operation are properly safeguarded, as they are in Great Britain, no other form of political corruption will be incurred. From one end of the British Isles to the other it is admitted, even by the most strenuous opponents of municipal-ownership policy, that the administration of public affairs in British cities is free from political corruption.

The arguments for municipal-ownership based on the improvement of the conditions of labor, the development of a stronger public spirit and better citizenship, the forming of a higher type of character through the substitution of higher coöperative forms of relationship among men in place of the lower forms of conflict and mastery that characterize the *régime* of private monopoly and competitive industry—all these consider-

duplicating the service by running out parallel street-railway lines? According to the Citizens' Union of Glasgow, the tramway management has already extended the lines further than the business men think is justified on financial grounds, in view of the splendid railway service which Glasgow enjoys. Nothing like the suburban service of the British railways is known in our country.

Equally forceful replies could be made to other points of detail raised by Mr. McKerrow in regard to different British cities, but enough has been said, we hope, in the text and in this note, to convince the reader that further investigation is necessary before accepting the conclusion that municipal-ownership has failed to justify itself.

ations and the relation of municipal-ownership to the general progress of civilization, form much more powerful arguments even than the splendid financial showing that is made by municipal-ownership under good management.

If you will select your agents carefully,

it is better for you to own a valuable property or be a partner in it than to have someone else own it all; and this common-sense principle applies to a city as well as to an individual.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## EMERSON THE ANARCHIST.

BY BOLTON HALL.

**S**AID a conservative New York paper, the *Evening Mail*, commenting on the recent arrest of eleven Anarchists at a meeting called to eulogize Czolgosz:

"The adult Anarchist is past reasoning with and past reform. He is an enemy to society, worse than the Malay who runs amuck or the rabid dog. These rage openly and indiscriminately. The anarchist aims at the best and highest only, and strikes through the agency of dupes."

They do not know, these conservatives, that America's special pride and chief treasure, in literature and ethics; the bright, particular star of conventional and academic Massachusetts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was an Anarchist.

Emerson was a great Teacher. His writings have the peculiar property, the same property as the Hebrew Scriptures, that you can find in them almost anything. There is no slur in this statement. Much can be found in the ancient philosophies and in the Hebrew Scriptures which in Emerson's writings shines to-day, forever new.

We must recognize that, as Emerson himself says, it is not instruction that we can give anyone; it is only provocation; nor can we teach anything to any body that he does not know for himself. Through experience we have to learn everything. We have to learn always through some experience of our own, or

of others which we have made our own. Sinton says that if we should pray for anything, it should be for more experience of whatsoever sort; for it is only through experience, the knowledge of good and evil, that we can learn, that we can appropriate to ourselves the truth.

Emerson was a teacher, not a doer; one who never professed to put into practice what he taught. You remember the story of Thoreau; when he was in jail because he would not pay his taxes,—contributing thereby to the government and to the support of its Mexican war and of slavery,—Emerson went to see him and said, looking through the bars: "What are you doing in there, Henry?" "What are you doing out there, Ralph?" said Thoreau. A serious question for all of us, but a question that did not trouble Emerson at all; he relied merely upon the idea he strove to plant. He says: "The key to every man is his thought. Sturdy and defying though he look, he has a helm which he obeys, which is the idea, after which all his facts are classified. He can only be reformed by showing him a new idea which commands his own."

I am not forgetting Emerson's influence for the emancipation of the slaves, for he helped the abolitionists in the destruction of slavery, and he set an example all the more suitable for our following because the work he had laid upon him was the same as that laid upon us,—the work of agitation. But he disap-

proved of heat in agitation, and never could see that the high praise of future generations will be given to many a man whom we have despised and rejected,—that has had a price upon his head.

Emerson, however, unlike Tolstoi, had a clear conception of what constitutes man. He takes pains, time and again, to show us that the nature of man is three-fold and tripartite. There is the physical or material, then the spiritual, and then the mental; and no man can understand where one begins and the other ends. It is like the three joints of the finger, the physical, the spiritual and the mental; but it is more like an elephant's trunk where the root is the physical, the center is the spiritual and the tip the mental, each dependent upon the others, but with no division between them. Angels may sit in empty seats, but man must have the physical as well as the spiritual and mental, and none can divide the spiritual from the mental or even from the physical.

The stupidest book I ever read, I think, was Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. In this he gratuitously assumes that there are two separate classes of matter, organic and inorganic, and from that assumption he concludes that there is dead matter and live matter, and that in order to become live it must be kindled with fire from Heaven. He utterly fails to see and he later learned and said that he had failed to see that the crystal, the tree, and man are equally alive, that each has a definite desire and tendency, which, in spite of anything we can do, each will follow. The crystal may be broken into a hundred fragments; the oil may be scattered in a thousand drops, yet instantly every fragment and every drop asserts its peculiar nature and its will.

When you lay your razor away, the dead thing sharpens itself; its life has survived the terror of the fire, when it was first made, and the wear of the world and becomes sharp again. Why? Who knows? Perhaps because it has had its

life from the beginning; the life is in it and will assert itself.

It is not only the tripartite nature, the three states of man's nature, that we learn alike out of the Hebrew Scriptures and out of Emerson. There is something yet deeper. You will find its best exposition in the two Epistles of John. "I in you and you in me, that we all may be one." That is the solution of the theory of the world. Do not fret over the troubles of others; there are no "others," and do not fret over your own, for you know you could not do without them.

You who are familiar with Tolstoi's works are struck by his deep sense of the injustice of things, by that divine compassion for those who are suffering, for those less fortunate than ourselves, and those who are different from ourselves. He is bewildered by it all, and looks for the root of evil now in money and now in mind. That is because he looks from one point only.

Emerson never made the mistake of speaking to the physical as though it were the spiritual, or of talking from the standpoint of the mental as though he were talking from the standpoint of the spiritual. He spoke always as the spiritual man and always to the spiritual man, and he saw from that standpoint.

When we have realized the universality and the unity of Spirit we have solved the problem of the universe, we have justified the ways of God to man, and we have explained the suffering and have shared in the pain and the joy of others; we have the knowledge of good and evil; that everything that happens, everything that ever did happen, happened to you and to me, for we are all the family of God, and we are One. No man lives to himself, and no one of us even dieth to himself, for we are one in our best states and in our worst. Our most self-sacrificing deed benefits others, yet returns into our bosoms increased by the work it has done, and strengthened by the exercising. That is what Whitman meant when he said: "The gift is to the giv-

(1915  
H. L. H.)

and comes back most to him; the theft is to the thief and comes back most to him; the song is to the singer, and comes back most to him; the love is to the lover, and comes back most to him; and no one can see or understand any goodness or any greatness except what is in himself, or the reflection of what is in himself." That is the reason that we cannot give any instruction; we can only give provocation; we can only call out in some way what the person already knows. Now that intense sense of unity is what made Emerson an anarchist. He said: "The state exists only for the education of the wise man; when the wise man appears the state is at an end." (He was only a theoretic anarchist) The method adopted by the abolitionists was to mitigate the iniquity of slave laws until they could be repealed. General Grant said: "The way to repeal a bad law is to enforce it." That was the view of a mere soldier. That course results in the oppression of the weak and the escape of the strong. The best way to repeal a bad law, the hardest blow that can be struck at a legalized iniquity, is to evade it, to do as they did in the slavery days,—steal away the slaves by night; persistently to do these things which are absolutely illegal, without regard to conventional conscience or rights of property, evading iniquitous laws and thus saving our suffering brethren from their sins. It is by such evasions of the law that we have practically repealed Prohibition, and by which we are now repealing taxation of personal property and the tariff.

We need legal restrictions because we think we need them. Helen Wilmans says: "He who wears a fetter needs it, and he who bears a kick deserves it." When we learn our real interest we dispense with statutes.

But until we know and understand, we need the law. Do I have to make a law for my fingers that they may bring the food to my mouth, that my throat shall swallow it and the stomach digest it, by saying that they shall do it for the

good of the rest of the members? No. Why? Because they are a part of the body and work for it instinctively, and because they and the body are one. We are one; "I and my Father are One." We and our Father are One. We used to need the law, but the law is of no further use to us, meaning by "us" the men and the women who really and truly know and love. "Between lovers there are no rights and no duties." Love is the fulfilling of the law, and therefore we see that love is all that is to be desired. If a husband and wife are one, could you imagine her saying "These are mine," or his saying that "This belongs to me"? No, it is only when they come into the divorce courts that you hear of divisions of property; it is only then that you hear of support and alimony. So long as we are one, we ask not from one another, but for ourselves and those who are with us.

We try to restrict, restrain or prohibit our every action. The life of even a little girl in the State of New York is controlled and regulated by no less than 21,260 statute laws.

From the standpoint of the Spirit, Democracy is not equality but Unity. Spirit is that universal and all-pervading Force, whatever it is, that moves the universe and moves in the universe. There is one definition in the Hebrew Scriptures of Love and there is one definition of God, and the definition of God is Love, and the definition of Love is God. The two are equivalent. Now when we think of the tripartite nature, the physical or material, the spiritual or emotional, and the intellectual nature as One, we lay the foundation of universal love. St. Paul vilified the physical nature as "the flesh," because he did not see that flesh and spirit are united,—are one. These are our internal natures, but there is external nature which still conditions and to some extent controls our inner nature. You do not get up in the clouds to preach your sermons there, or sail in the air and stay there, because you are a

land animal, and the great majority of mankind live upon the earth in their whole nature. Man is primarily a land animal and on the land, and by the land, he lives and could not live otherwise. We have great aspirations of the soul, lofty thoughts, for which our minds crave, but suppose some giant should lift us off the earth and say: "Now, what do you want,—greater spiritual insight, better education, universal suffrage, civil service reform, proportional representation?" "Yes," we would say, "all these are good, but first—that we may get back to the earth; restore us to our heritage, and let us live upon the land, and we will get these things for ourselves." That we may have the spiritual for which we long, we must first have the physical. We must live in love and in high thought, but we must first live upon the earth and upon its products. Therefore, just as Emerson's teachings forbade chattel slavery, so our teaching and preaching of these principles must forbid monopoly of land. The common ownership of that land upon which we live is the next step toward liberty. It is not possible that free men should live together like rats in a trap, as you and I, live under conditions that force us to take each other by the throat in order to live at all. When you go to the store and get things as cheap as you can, it means that some person has not got fully paid for his labor, which means that you are getting something for which the worker did not get an equivalent; that is to say you are a gambler. I am a gambler, too, betting upon the rise in land; that is my profession. But none of us can help participating in this taking each other by the throat. You cannot do otherwise; you have to live as the world is constituted. There is no distinction of guilty and innocent; we are one flesh, and until we can change conditions that make this unnatural strife, until we restore men to their natural environment, each must prey upon his fellows. I was talking with Wanamaker's manager one evening, and he was giving

us what the boys call "a song and dance" about how necessary honesty was in business, and what a great success it had been in that store. I asked him if it was honest to take goods for less than they cost, taking the cut-price out of the laborer's wages. "Well," he said, "we can't make any investigation as to the prices the laborers are paid. If we were to investigate as to trades-union wages it would upset trade completely; that is none of our business; we get the goods and sell them to our customers at fair prices, and are honest in all our dealings with them; we cannot see to it that the workers get an equivalent for their labor." So you see that in the first attempt to apply this principle of honesty he spoke of, it broke down. He believed in honesty to customers, but that is attained only by giving them the market-worth of their money in goods and getting pay for it; and this is possible under present conditions only by taking from the wages of the laborer.

It is not well that we should have thus to prey upon our fellows; that we should have a class of men like the undertaker, who looks through the list of deaths with joy, not because he is not a good man, but because he must provide for his wife and children; or the doctor who is delighted when people are ill, not because he hates them, but because he too must take care of his family. You know those words of Margaret Haile: "My babies cry for bread, for all the babies in the world are mine." And all the babies in the world are yours and mine. The babies must have a chance to live upon the earth.

"In the beginning God created the Heavens and the earth" and in the end you and I gave them to the landlord. The Hebrew Scriptures say: "Let the earth bring forth her increase abundantly to satisfy the desire of every living thing." Just think of that generosity. Are their desires satisfied? Multitudes of workers have to be contented with \$12 a month, because we and our fellows shut up the earth from which they should draw good

wages. While our physical constitution demands that all of us live upon the earth and satisfy our desires from it, we allow it to be appropriated by a few. "The earth shall bring forth abundantly" to satisfy our desires,—when we are allowed to get at it. We have permitted the shutting up of the earth so that there is not enough to go around.

We ought all to be wealthy. Suppose a man owns a factory filled with goods ready for the season's business, or a dealer has a large stock of these goods adapted to the market and ready to sell, but has not one dollar in the bank or one penny in his pocket, you would still say: "He is a comparatively wealthy man; he has a lot of goods for which there will be a demand." Now, where did he get those goods? Look at this little desk-bell. The steel, which first was iron, came out of the earth by labor. The nickel with which it is decorated was worked by the labor of men from the mine to the foundry and the machinery used there came itself by the labor of men from the earth. If you examine a piano you will find that the strings are made of copper. This came from the earth, too, by the labor of man. So did the wood and the varnish, all that goes to make it, came from the same source, the earth, by labor. Now, if we were able to get at the earth, we should be able to produce wealth in such abundance that it would not be worth our while to hoard it, and money would be so cheap that so far from refusing him who wanted to borrow, we would lend freely out of good fellowship, and if we could not get it back again, it would be easier to make more than to

exact payment from some one who did not want to pay or who could not afford to pay. The Socialists have shown that did we save only the wastes of our present "civilization" as we call it, two to four hours work per day would produce the things we now use or consume. Now, suppose in addition to this, every one of us were free from the restrictions and restraints on production made by our laws, how easy it would be to gain wealth. The vacant lots in Flatbush and Harlem, and the land lying between the City of New York and Morristown and White Plains is more than sufficient to employ all the idle labor of the town; more than sufficient to give everyone a job with wages that would make him rich. This question of land-ownership, and consequent waste-land, is a question that no one can overlook; it is the taproot of social misery.

How was it that Emerson did not carry his principles—principles that he enunciated so clearly—into land agitation? "While any man is without land my title to mine and your title to yours is vitiated," he said. Why did he not carry this to its logical results?

The question that was up for settlement was the question of chattel-slavery; there was as yet abundant land that could be had for less than it was worth; "free land," as we called it. "Uncle Sam was rich enough to give us all a farm" and the time was not yet ripe to force that question of the right of all men to the use of the earth.

That was left to you and me.

BOLTON HALL.

*New York City.*

## EVILS OF GOLD INFLATION.

By GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,  
President National Federation for People's Rule.

THE PRICES for living are rising faster than are the prices for labor. This is demonstrated by actual experience and by statistics. Dun's index number shows that the price level for commodities at wholesale on December 1st was over 49 per cent. higher than on July 1, 1896—the lowest point reached during the past century. And Bradstreet's tables are to the same effect. They show that the average wholesale prices for products are now more than 50 per cent. higher than ten years ago.

But the *total* cost of living has not gone up so much, for the prices we have quoted are for products at wholesale. House rent has risen much less except in rare instances, while the prices of some of our living expenses are fixed in amount, for example, gas, car-fare, newspapers, etc. The net rise in the cost of living is placed at 40 per cent. by Byron W. Holt, the noted economist.

On the other hand, the average rise in money wages for these ten years does not exceed 20 per cent. "This means," says Mr. Holt in an editorial in *Moody's Magazine* for December, "that wages have risen only half as fast and half as much as have prices. It means that whereas \$1.40 is now required to buy what \$1.00 bought in 1896, the average workingman has only \$1.20 with which to purchase what sells for \$1.40. It means that there is a tremendous 'rake-off' for somebody." Mr. Holt continues: "As there are about 30,000,000 workers in this country, receiving an average of about \$600 each per year, the total wage bill amounts to about \$18,000,000,000. If this is 120 per cent. of what the same earners would have received in 1896, they would then have received \$15,000,000,000. But to buy what they could then have bought with \$15,000,000,000, the wage-earners of to-day would have to have \$21,000,000,-

000. Hence the difference between what our wage earners actually get and what they should get, on the 1896 basis, is \$3,000,000,000 a year. *This amount represents, approximately, the 'rake-off' that must go to somebody.* It is the price our workers and consumers are paying for the kind of prosperity that we see on all sides. As to who gets it we will not undertake to say, though we have some suspicions. The main fact is that this vast amount, through a price-and-wage juggling for which nobody in particular is to blame, is yearly extracted from the pockets of our workers and spenders."

It is this \$3,000,000,000 a year that is making riches for certain classes. It is the unfairness and injustice measured by this \$3,000,000,000 that is largely responsible for the prevailing discontent that is breaking out in so many places and ways. More than anything else this fundamental injustice in the distribution of products is creating unrest and dissatisfaction.

This is the dark side of our era of stimulated industry superinduced by a rising price level, caused by a continuous inflation of money and credit.

Professor Norton, of Yale University in an article in the *Yale Review*, points out the possible remedies, the only practical one being the regulation of the supply of money so as to maintain a stable average of prices for products at wholesale. In other words, the people, acting through their government will have to keep out the increasing flood of gold by closing the mints. This would mean the establishment of the Multiple Standard, the ideal system.

To install a law for this stable price level for commodities (a condition that would raise real wages and promote business in general) there is needed a direct-vote system for public questions. Such a system can be installed as the result of

the 1908 campaign, for already 107 members of the Congress elected this year are pledged and twelve states have been carried for state systems of direct voting by the people. This winter an active campaign is being waged in the other state legislatures.

Furthermore, the direct-vote system will enable the people to terminate government by injunction, child-labor, private-monopoly prices, political graft and other evils. The total amount filched each year from the American people by the few who are running the machine-rule system of government is simply

enormous. Added to the three billion dollars loss in wages from the gold inflation there is a billion dollar loss to widows and orphans from the shrinkage in the value of contracts for payments of life insurance, and about two billion dollars of loss to the people from trust prices, a total of \$6,000,000,000 annually, or about \$360 per family per year—\$30 per month, \$1.15 per working day. Is n't it high time for the wide-awake citizens to turn in and help along the Initiative and Referendum movement?

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

*Washington, D. C.*

## A GIFT OF FATE.

BY KENTON WEST.

THE WOMAN'S face was pale and worn, and she trudged on as if weary and discouraged. The wind swept around the Flatiron building and flapped her skirts in mocking glee, and the corners of her shabby shawl escaped from her thin, detaining hand and blew out straight behind.

But her mind was so busy with some potent, compelling thought that she paid scant attention to these discomforts.

Yes! it had been ten years since she had seen Broadway.

How changed everything was!

The whole city seemed like an alien, foreign thing to her sensitive, wistful vision—painfully unlike that which she had seen in many a restless, homesick dream.

With every step of the way along this half-familiar, half-strange Broadway, there had traveled with her a vivid memory, a memory that stung her with a harrowing sense of grief, that seared her soul with remorse as with fire. To-day in this free air of Broadway, it seemed as if she could not bear the pain of this remembrance of the despair and the passionate protest against fate which had prompted the terrible deed that had changed her life: In a moment of frenzy

and agony of spirit she had killed her little child—and for ten years there had been steadily growing in her heart a desperate longing, a passionate fervor of love which no one but a child could satisfy.

How empty her arms seemed to-day. Her mother-heart was hungry. She wanted not only to love, but to be loved by some innocent child.

But fate had no sacred and lovely gift in store for a woman like her. By her own sin she had forfeited all right to such love.

Who could ever love her?

She shuddered at the thought of those weary wasted years that had been spent in prison.

Here she was in this big, heartless, selfish city with no friend to help, no friend to guide, no one who would understand.

Who would trust her, let her have just one honest chance to build up her life into some faint semblance of its former beauty and purity?

In spite of the dreary maze in which her thoughts were wandering, she could afterwards recall with startling vividness how it all happened. But it happened so

unexpectedly, so swiftly that at first she was almost stunned.

A clang,—a flash,—a wild dash of the hurrying crowd,—then a huddled form struck by the big "red devil" of an automobile.

There was confusion, terror, danger, an imperative call for help—then the discordant clang of the ambulance.

Finally the woman found herself the center of an excited group of people who were trying to comfort a bewildered, frightened boy who was sobbing out that his nurse had been taken away in the "ambulance" and he could n't remember where he lived.

The woman stood there a moment—timid, uncertain, awkwardly self-conscious; then all thoughts of self were suddenly swept away by a rush of sympathetic tenderness, an overwhelming desire to be of help.

Some subtle expression of her emotion must have flashed from her face to the heart of the child, for the next moment he flung himself into her arms, begging her to take him home and not let anything hurt him.

With the touch of those clinging hands around her neck a swift sense of authority and power came over her. Her whole personality was transformed. Holding the child tightly and comforting him, she imperiously dominated the crowd; got free of a stupid policeman who sought to magnify his office; roused into alert activity the dulled intellects of the police in the nearest station; sent telephone messages and messenger boys; and herself worked with superb, untiring energy.

Finally, just at dusk, she reached a large house on Riverside drive, to find there a suffering, anxious mother, who treated her with lovely courtesy as well as substantial gratitude, and when at last she turned to go, the little boy clung to her, sobbing out that she must not go, that he loved her, that she *must* stay with him, that he would lock the door and keep her always for his nurse.

The woman looked at the child piteously, then her lips quivered.

He had said he loved her, he loved her!

"Oh! I cannot bear it," she sobbed, and she covered her face with her hands.

"Do not go just now," the mother said, gently; "come in here and let us have a little talk."

The woman had a dim sense of a beautiful room full of books and pictures, but the mother's face with its tenderness was to her more beautiful than everything else.

By skilful questioning and delicate tact the mother drew from the lonely, homeless woman the whole miserable history of her wrecked life, and her hopelessness of the future; and it was not alone the sympathy, the sisterly feeling, but the *understanding* shown by the questioner, that comforted and warmed her poor, benumbed heart.

. . . . .  
The nursery-fire cast a soft, beautiful glow through the spacious room. The woman sat beside it, the little boy on a footstool at her feet.

"Hurry up that story before Mamma comes up from dinner," he said, his face eager and excited. "Tell that story my other nurse began, about a big pirate that came in the dark, and made all the little boys and girls chatter their teeth and—"

"No, dear. Do n't let us have anything dreadful like that. The dark is n't full of pirates. The dark is so soft and sweet and peaceful, and it makes little boys and girls feel sleepy. And when they are asleep the lovely fairies come and sing to them and kiss their eyes—and then they dream of flowers, and love, and green fields."

. . . . .  
"He will make the darkness light about thee," murmured Mrs. Chesterfield to herself, as she paused in the open doorway.

. . . . .  
That first night the woman went to sleep with the little child beside her,—his mother trusting her!

KENYON WEST.

Montclair, N. J.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

MR. MCKERROW in his extremely clever attack on public-ownership of public utilities as found in Great Britain, which we publish in this issue, makes some observations which call for passing notice and which it was impossible for Professor Parsons to touch upon in the brief space to which we felt compelled to limit him on account of the length of Mr. McKerrow's paper.

The main arguments in Mr. McKerrow's contention are so thoroughly and, in our judgment, completely answered by Professor Parsons that it is not our purpose to touch upon them, further than to revert to a point which is strongly emphasized,—namely, the increase in the debt of the cities of Great Britain. By inference the critic of municipal-ownership would have us believe that this increase in indebtedness is largely if not chiefly due to public-ownership of public utilities, while as a matter of fact the great increase, as Professor Parsons points out, is owing to the conviction on the part of present-day civilization that it is the paramount duty—that it is the highest wisdom, of the community to improve the sanitation, improve the educational advantages, and in various ways benefit the community at large, in order that the menace of contagion and various physical diseases, as well as moral degeneration, may be minimized.

What is true of the increase of indebtedness of the cities of Great Britain is true of the increase in indebtedness of various cities. Take Boston for example. The annual appropriations in Boston in 1886 were \$5,808,412. The appropriations for 1906 were \$15,613,516, a net increase of \$9,805,104 in the twenty years. The rapid increase in the debt of Boston has been a subject of general discussion for many months. Ex-Mayor Thomas N. Hart, in a discussion of the question of a new charter, before the City Club on the evening of February 14th, pointed out the fact that the gross debt of the city to-day is not very far from \$140,000,000. Yet Boston is one of the most backward of all cities in regard to public-ownership. Indeed, outside of the defeat of

the attempt to relay the tracks on Tremont street, which would have enabled the Boston Elevated Railway Company to evade paying into the city treasury a considerable revenue from cars going into the subway, there has been no conspicuous instance in many years wherein the interests of the street-railway company as well as that of the lighting trust have not substantially had their way. We cite this case merely to show how easy it is for a special-pleader to draw inferences that superficially appear plausible and yet are wholly unwarranted when all the facts involved are considered.

Mr. McKerrow, though a most charming gentleman, has a strong bias against public-ownership, and his fondness for dwelling in the tents of those who are recognized as chief among the special-pleaders of private ownership of public utilities seems to have led him, perhaps quite unconsciously to himself, into employing not only their terminology, but also the special methods of those whom he so happily characterizes as "having an axe to grind," "representatives of private corporations," etc. A man may have no personal or financial interest in a great question such as that under consideration, involving the interest of a class and that of the people as a whole, and yet if he remains in the camp of the classes who are vitally interested in continuing to reap harvests from the benefits of private monopoly of public utilities, and hears constantly the various specious arguments which the paid attorneys advance, while reading the ingenious sophistries and exhibitions of jugglery with figures in which there is constantly an over-emphasis of certain relatively unimportant facts as well as conclusions unwarranted by the evidence, as is done systematically by papers like the *London Times*\*

\*In October, 1902, the *London Daily News* made a most circumstantial exposure of the *London Times'* series of attacks on municipal-ownership. It charged that this great reactionary or Bourbon journal, that has for years been the advocate of special privilege and various forms of oppression, had lent itself to a systematic furthering of the financial interests of a ring of Anglo-American

and other journals that are confessedly special-pleaders for public-service corporations, he will be almost certain sooner or later to lose the proper sense of proportion when viewing the subject, and will come to look to these special-pleaders for opinions and guidance when he essays to express his own biased views, even though these same writers may have been thoroughly answered and their conclusions as thoroughly discredited as have been those of Professor Hugo Meyer of the Chicago University or those of the *London Times*.

In reading Mr. McKerrow's paper we are driven to the conclusion that such is the case with this writer, though he may be unconscious of the fact. Thus, for example, on the threshold of his discussion he raises the familiar alarmist cry by quoting Hamlet's well-worked phrase. In this he adopts one of the tactics almost invariably employed by the upholders of monarchy, aristocracy, plutocracy and all other class interests that seek special advantages at the expense of the masses. The special-pleaders know that the people are always timid; that the untried path will not be taken till the evils which the public has borne become intolerable and they always, or almost always, raise the alarmist cry and exhibit a bogey-man to frighten the unthinking and prejudice the more thoughtful so that they will approach the subject with a bias in favor of the existing order.

Mr. McKerrow seems to be laboring under the idea that the advocates of public-ownership are for the most part academic. On the one side, to use his words, are "theorists," "college professors, enthusiasts." This sound very familiar. One might almost imagine these were the words of Mr. Burdette, the

capitalists known as the British Electric Traction Company. The managing director of this company was Emile Garche. The *News* pointed out that one of the catspaws of the British Electric Traction Company was "the Industrial Freedom League, which includes Garche among its financial supporters," and on its council were Morgan and Company and other directors and shareholders in the Traction Trust or combine, and also Mr. C. F. Moberly Bell, who was at that time the manager of the *London Times*. The *News*, after showing how liberally the *Times* had drawn from Garche's *ex parte* pamphlets, asks the question: "Is England to turn, at the bidding of the *Times* and the British Electric Traction Company, from the safe paths of co-operative municipal effort and deliver itself, bound and helpless, to the Pierpont Morgans and their trusts?" Mr. McKerrow in citing the *London Times* seems to be almost as unfortunate as in quoting from Professor Meyer and Roberts.

hired attorney of the Electric Lighting Company. But do they square with the facts? Let us see. In Great Britain the great father of the public-ownership movement and the man who gave it its master-impulse was the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who, as Mr. McKerrow must admit, is one of the most successful and eminently practical business men of the realm. Perhaps the man who next to Mr. Chamberlain has done most to influence the public mind in favor of public-ownership of public utilities in Great Britain is Mr. John Young, who when Glasgow took over her tramway service took charge of the street-railways, and in spite of the doleful predictions of the friends of private-ownership made such a splendid success of the municipal investment that opposition to public ownership of street-railways practically disappeared in this greatest city of Scotland. Is Mr. Young to be classed as merely an academic theorist or an enthusiast? Let one fact in addition to his success with the Glasgow tramway-service answer this question. When Mr. Yerkes wanted a man to manage his street-railway interests in London, whom did he select? Some one of the shrewd, practical business men who had helped him acquire millions upon millions of dollars in the Chicago street-railways, or some one of the heads of the great public-service corporations in America or England? No; the one man in all the Anglo-Saxon world that Mr. Yerkes selected to take charge of his street-railway interests was Mr. Young, the head of the municipal tram-service of Glasgow.

Another man who has exerted a positive influence over public opinion in favor of public-ownership by the splendid results of his labors is Mr. Bellamy, the manager of the municipal street-railway service of Liverpool.

In America we have no stronger or more able champion of public-ownership than Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, who made millions of dollars out of private-ownership of street-railways.

And so we might easily extend the list and show that the charge so glibly and regularly made by the attorneys of the privileged interests like Mr. Burdette, and which has been taken up and repeated by our contributor, is without the foundation in fact which the claim implies. The advocates of public-ownership have, we think, as a rule only accepted it after careful examination and painstaking investigation of the pros and cons and after studying

the question from the view-point of its practicability as a sound business enterprise, from its relation to civic morality or honest government, and from the view-point of the general public weal, such as insuring better service and the turning into the public treasury for general improvement or reduction of taxes of moneys which at the present time are being poured into a few private pockets and employed for the enrichment of the privileged few and the corruption of the people's representatives. In many instances those who today are most strenuous advocates of public-ownership have begun their investigation with marked prejudice against public-ownership. The Hon. Frederic C. Howe, whose great work, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, is one of the most masterly volumes on municipal government that has appeared, states that when he began his investigation it was with the strongest bias against public-ownership, but his research soon forced him to change his views. When we personally began our investigation of this subject our prejudices were all on the side of private-ownership, but the evidences and arguments of such men as Mr. Young and Mayor Johnson, the survey of the whole field, the comparison of results under private and public-ownership as they relate to public finances, civic ideals, the general weal and the interests of the citizen as a unit forced us to change our view.

In the case of Professor Parsons, he is a man whose education as a lawyer, historian and economist was supplemented by that of a civil engineer at Cornell. He has ever been conspicuous for his judicial attitude in all his investigations. Personally we know of no writer who so resolutely refuses to express an opinion on any question until he has examined both sides of the subject, as Professor Parsons. Moreover, his knowledge of the subject is based on exhaustive personal investigations which have taken him all over Great Britain on two separate occasions, the last being as a member of the committee sent over by the Civic Federation, at which time great pains were taken to obtain all the facts from the foes as well as the friends of municipal-ownership. He is therefore probably the best-equipped thinker in America to-day to discuss this subject authoritatively.

It is a curious fact that though Mr. McKerrow seems to have so poor an opinion of the value of the views of college professors or academic writers, when they advocate public-ownership, the

two Americans behind whom he takes refuge for confirmation of his views should be two academicians—two college professors, one Professor Roberts of Denver University, the other Professor Hugo Meyer of Chicago University. Evidently the academician, theorist or college professor who sees matters as the public-service corporation magnates desire the public to see them is not so untrustworthy to Mr. McKerrow as if he championed public-ownership. And in passing it may be well to point out that the master-spirit in Denver University is Boss William Evans of Denver, the head of the street-car interests and the master-spirit in what is known as the Utility-Trust. The unsavory record of this trust and its sinister influence in politics, no less than its shameful exploitation of the people, are too well known to our readers through the admirable papers of the Hon. J. Warner Mills to demand further notice. Professor Roberts voices what Mr. Evans wished voiced.

The Chicago University is the creature of the master-spirit of the Standard Oil Trust, the most shameless and law-defying monopoly in America, whose chief benefactors are interested in the great lighting corporations in the various cities. Professor Bemis a few years ago was a professor in Chicago University. He wrote a strong brochure in favor of public-ownership of lighting plants, and was shortly after relieved of his position in the Rockefeller University. Professor Meyer has written a brief for private-ownership and naturally enough remains in high favor with the University. Notwithstanding the fact that his claims have been so mercilessly dissected and exposed by many able critics, such as Professor B. H. Meyer, Professor John R. Commons, Professor Frank Parsons and others, our contributor quotes him as an authority.

Another point which Mr. McKerrow makes and which it was impossible for Professor Parsons to touch upon in the limited space assigned, is the claim that the advocates of public-ownership are Socialists, and the implication that those who advocate public-ownership of public utilities favor public-ownership of all sorts of business enterprises. Now as a matter of fact, the strongest and ablest advocates of public-ownership with whom we are acquainted are not Socialists, and in many instances they are strongly opposed to Socialism. Men like Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Hon. Frederic C. Howe, Mr.

Louis F. Post, Mr. Henry George, Jr., Justice John Ford, Justice Samuel Seabury, Professor Frank Parsons, Mayor Dunne of Chicago and scores of other leaders of the public-ownership movement are not Socialists, and most of them are pronounced individualists. They hold that public-ownership of public utilities or natural monopolies is wise and necessary, but they do not favor public-ownership of business enterprises that are not in the class of public utilities. This point was very clearly brought out by Mayor Johnson and Mr. Louis F. Post in their arguments which we quoted in our editorial in the February ARENA.

Furthermore, in noticing this question one fact should not be lost sight of, and that is that where public-ownership has been fairly tried there is an overwhelming sentiment in favor of it. Now why is this? If it were such a menace as the special-pleaders for private-

ownership of public utilities would have us believe, there would be an overwhelming opposition, for the general discontent of the people would be quickly stimulated by the lavish use of money to encourage such opposition, by those conspicuously unselfish (?) patriots, the public-service magnates, who are ever anxious to save the cities from the peril and menace of municipal-ownership by bravely incurring all the risks of bankruptcy and other multitudinous perils that the attorneys for special privileges would have us believe lurk in the way of public-ownership. But the fact is that public-ownership of public utilities has on the whole proved such a pronounced success that the cities of Great Britain are overwhelmingly in favor of it, and nowhere is the public sentiment so strong as in such cities as Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham and Manchester, where public-ownership has been most complete.

### PROSPERITY AND THE PEOPLE.

FOR MANY months a systematic effort has been made on the part of plutocratic dailies, weeklies and monthlies to deceive the public by statements and inferences that in the light of the pertinent facts involved are untrue and unwarranted. The public is continually being informed of our great prosperity, while it is dazzled by an impressive array of figures accompanied by glittering generalities. Then follow long lists of corporations which have increased the wages of the workingmen in their employ, while the higher prices paid to the farmers and producers for their products are also dwelt upon at length.

Now all these things may be true, and yet the people as a whole may not be as prosperous as in earlier years, and the gulf between the few very rich and the producing millions may be steadily widening.

The worthlessness of the special-pleading so industriously put forth in favor of present conditions lies in the fact that the writers who hold briefs for the plutocracy only give one side of the situation. The fact that the increase in wages is not nearly so great as the increase in cost of living that has paralleled this raise is carefully ignored, while the further fact that large classes of the employed

and professional men who are not in the service of privileged and favored corporations have had little or no increase in their salaries, is also ignored. As a matter of fact, the increase in return for work or service on the part of the millions of laborers is trifling in comparison with the enormous increase in the acquisition of wealth enjoyed by the few having monopoly rights and enjoying special privileges. It is doubtless true that the farmers are receiving more for their products than they did some years ago, but the percentage of increase is far less than that which the railways and trusts are realizing before handing these products over to the consuming masses; while the fact that the increase in the wages of other manual laborers is entirely out of proportion to the increase in the cost of living is apparent when we examine the facts.

According to Dun, as is pointed out by Mr. Shibley, "the price level for commodities at wholesale on December 1, 1906, was over 49 per cent. higher than on July 1, 1896. And Bradstreet's tables show that average wholesale prices for products are now more than 50 per cent. higher than ten years ago." Allowing for living expenses not included in these lists and where the increase has not been so marked, such as house-rent, the living ex-

penses are somewhat reduced. According to the editor of *Moody's Magazine*, the net rise in the cost of living is 40 per cent., and he further points out the fact that wages have risen only half as fast and as much as have the living expenses.

It will be immediately seen that the consideration of these facts changes the whole face of the situation and thoroughly invalidates the cry of general prosperity; while when we further remember that tens of thousands of persons who receive fixed salaries and are not employed by the over-rich and privileged corporations, have experienced little if any increase in salary, the misleading character of this general cry is still further emphasized. To this last class the present conditions are in many cases marked by severe privations. They see the swollen fortunes growing still more unhealthily large of the special privileged few and the great gamblers of the Street, while their little savings are rapidly diminishing, when they have not already disappeared.

Furthermore, in many companies where there are enormous returns and where the people are being victimized by the monopolies, the laborers have had no increase in wages anything like commensurate with the increase in salaries of favored officials and the increase in dividends to stockholders. This fact was well brought out by L. W. E. Kimball, the New England Organizer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in an article in the Boston *American*, in which he stated the following suggestive facts:

"I present for the consideration of your readers a table of figures that gives an illuminating example of the manner in which public-service corporations distribute prosperity.

"Rate of dividend and president's salary paid by the Edison company from 1898 to 1905:

Year.	Rate of dividend. Per cent.	President's Salary.
1898,	7½	\$10,000
1899,	8	12,000
1900,	8	15,000
1901,	11	20,000
1902,	10	25,000
1903,	10	30,000
1904,	10	30,000
1905,	10	30,000

"Increase in the rate of dividend, 38 per cent.

"Increase in salary paid to president of Edison company, 200 per cent.

"Increase in wages of small wage-earners of the Edison company, little, if any.

"Increase in the cost of living, 30 per cent. to 40 per cent.

"A consideration of these figures would seem to indicate that there is something the matter with our much-vaunted national prosperity.

"They would seem to indicate that our modern captains of industry take but little thought of the rank and file, so long as they secure for themselves a satisfactory amount of prosperity.

"One feels inclined to ask why the humbler, though no less faithful employés, should not share equally in the company's prosperity with the stockholders and high salaried officials."

The case cited by Mr. Kimball is typical. Our great industrial corporations, trusts and public-service companies are as a rule not only earning large dividends on stock issues, but the stock in a large number of corporations has been so watered as to make the dividends on the actually invested capital so enormous that were it not for the permitted outrage of stock-watering the extortion would not be tolerated.

Again, favored officials are paid princely salaries out of all proportion to the service rendered, and in addition to this they enjoy enormous indirect benefits for which the people pay. In conversation recently with a gentleman who had for many years been employed in the auditor's office of a leading New England corporation, our friend said: "The very large salary paid the president of our road is, I think, much in excess of any salary he could earn in any great business enterprise that was not in the nature of a monopoly where it was possible to extort wealth at will from the people. But the salary is only one of the benefits which he enjoys, for which the people have to pay and which materially lessen his living expenses. He has a magnificent private-car at his disposal, which is used by himself and family and friends. When they take trips this car is splendidly provisioned with the best of food and an abundance of extras, such as high-priced cigars. Now all this comes out of the earnings of the company, which means from the traveling public, and, in the

last analysis, from the producing and consuming masses.'

Again, when this official and other favored individuals want to use the express companies, they get the goods dead-headed, and the enormous amount of goods every year franked or dead-headed by the express corporations would doubtless amaze the people. Yet in the end who pays for this? The general shipping public.

Thus present economic conditions at every turn favor the privileged classes and compel

the masses to bear indirect burdens. And this, together with the systematic gambling with stacked cards in Wall street and the juggling with the people's money through the connivance of bankers, by the high financiers, is steadily widening the chasm between the plutocracy and the people, between the privileged few and the highly-paid officials in government and the public-service corporations and monopolies, and the rank and file of the nation.

## THE RENAISSANCE OF THE IDEALS OF JEFFERSON AND LINCOLN IN THE UNITED STATES.

### A Frenchman's Prediction of a Great Moral Uprising in the United States.

A FEW months ago a friend of ours, a young man who has done excellent work in battling for the cause of civic righteousness and genuine democracy, was spending a few weeks in Paris preparatory to returning to America. He had spent almost two years in Europe, studying social, economic and political conditions on the Continent, and his labors brought him in touch with many of the foremost statesmen, publicists and scholars of the Old World. One evening he was the guest of an eminent French historian and publicist who is an enthusiastic admirer of America. During the course of the conversation the host questioned his guest in regard to present-day conditions in the Republic. He wished to know exactly how things were from one who personally knew the facts and who was thoroughly competent to present them. Our friend frankly described to him present-day political conditions in our great cities, states and the nation, explaining how in recent years the plutocracy had made giant strides toward the control of government in all its ramifications. He pictured the apparently irresistible advance in the control of great municipalities by privileged interests, through the control of partisan machines manned by unscrupulous and corrupt politicians. He pictured the riot of corruption as it had long existed in great American municipalities, the power which predatory wealth was exerting over the press, and its demoralizing effects as seen in great business enterprises, such as the insurance investigation revealed. He fur-

thermore described how state after state had fallen the prey of conscienceless bosses backed by great public-service corporations, and how the national government had more and more responded to the overt and covert campaigns of various privileged and class interests, until the United States Senate was manned by special-pleaders and prominent representatives of the interests that had long been warring against the rights and the interests of the masses. And finally, he expressed the gravest apprehensions in regard to the future, because the plutocracy was so firmly entrenched that its power seemed to be well-nigh invincible. It was perfectly organized and its influence was rapidly extending over the press, the university, the pulpit, and, indeed, all public opinion-forming agencies.

When he had finished, to his great surprise the Frenchman exclaimed, in substance:

"You are altogether mistaken, my young friend, in your conclusions. I am a historian and I know, too, something of the moral fiber of your people. In the last fifty years your people have not been brought face to face with any great moral issue in such a way as to arouse the national conscience. But of late years there have been many exposures and sporadic uprisings. All of these have been gradually educating the public mind along one line, centering the public consciousness on one great moral issue, as more than a half century ago it was centered on chattel slavery. Now the hour will come, and it may come soon, just as it came when the founders of your nation became invincible under moral

compulsion and shook off the power of Great Britain, and later as it came when the issue between slavery and freedom had to be squarely met; and when this approaching hour for moral action arrives, your people will rise in their splendid might and assert their rights. They will speak for justice, equity and freedom, and they will break the power of the new slavery or oppression and destroy the corruption that is so threatening the life of free institutions."

We believe the French scholar was right. We have never despaired of the Republic, even when the moral lethargy of the people seemed greatest and when the claims of material prosperity seemed to overshadow the demands of ethics and the fundamental principles of free government as cherished by the fathers. We have never lost sight of the fact that the cause of freedom in America never looked so dark as it did just before the great victories were won which led to the establishment of the Republic; that the outlook for the cause of fundamental democracy in England never since the dawn of the democratic epoch looked darker than just before the passage of the great Reform Bill in the early thirties and the enactment of the important economic legislation in 1846; and that the cause of freedom in the anti-slavery agitation never looked so hopeless as it did after the Dred Scott decision, yet subsequent events showed that that period was merely the dark hour before the conflict that was destined to destroy slavery.

#### **The Gathering Together and The Onward March of The Forces of Free Government.**

To-day, while it is idle to attempt to ignore the power, the determination and the confidence of the plutocracy, he must be blind indeed who fails to see the multitudinous signs that point to the gathering together and forward movement of the hosts of fundamental democracy; and just here let us explain that when we say "democracy" we do not use the word in its narrow or partisan sense, but rather as opposed to plutocracy, reaction and class-government.

During the past six or eight years there has been a steady rise in the tide of pure democracy throughout the nation. This has not been so apparent in great political victories as in the multitudinous signs that ever precede the uprisings of a free people when the

hour for choosing draws nigh. Still, the past few years have not been barren of positive and significant political victories. The various uprisings for pure government and more just conditions throughout the length and breadth of the land have voiced the fact that the people are awakening.

Wisconsin, under the magnificent leadership of the able and incorruptible statesman, Robert M. LaFollette, has made marvelous strides toward a return to the democracy of the Declaration of Independence. Missouri, under the leadership of Governor Folk, is making an equally splendid record. But even more important than such victories under the leadership of exceptionally able and disinterested statesmen has been the great triumph for popular government won by Oregon, through the introduction into the organic Constitution of the State of ideal provisions for bulwarking free institutions and meeting the changed conditions of the present time that were undermining democratic government. Oregon, it will be remembered, in 1902, by a majority of over 62,000 against less than 6,000, voted for the adoption of the initiative and referendum. This amendment to the Constitution was later upheld by the Supreme Court of the State and in successful operation it has destroyed the lobby and the mastership of privileged interests throughout the commonwealth.

Since the victory in Oregon there has been a steady advance movement in favor of the introduction of these ideal democratic measures for the preservation of the principles of a democratic republic. In 1904 Nevada adopted a Constitutional amendment similar to that of Oregon, and last year Montana embedded a direct-legislation Constitutional amendment in her organic Constitution. In 1906 the electorate of Delaware, by an overwhelming vote, declared in favor of the advisory initiative and referendum, and Illinois, so far back as 1901, had passed, under the title of the Public Policy Law, a measure providing for the advisory referendum.

Every victory of this character is a triumph for the fundamental principles upon which a democratic republic rests and a defeat of the forces which have during the past fifty years been persistently seeking to establish the unrepentant and subversive rule of predatory interests and corrupt political machines in the place of popular government. And these victories, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, indicate the important fact that the American

electorate is at length coming to a general recognition of the vital importance of this great progressive movement that will do more than aught else to destroy graft, political corruption and the exploitation of city, state and nation by corrupt predatory wealth.

#### The People's League of Delaware.

Our readers will remember that Delaware, which so long rested under the odium of Addicks' corrupt spell, last year surprised the nation and heartened the friends of good government everywhere by declaring in favor of the advisory initiative and referendum. That this evidence of the awakening of the conscience element of Delaware was not temporary in character is seen from recent developments. There is at the present time a rapidly growing organization which under the name of The People's League of Delaware, is fighting for "the welfare of the people and the honor of the state." As in the case of the movement for the initiative and referendum in Delaware, the successful advance of this movement has been largely due to the persistent, earnest, unselfish and lofty statesmanship of a few high-minded friends of free institutions, most prominent among whom are such influential and earnest citizens as Alfred O. Crozier, Francis I. du Pont, Hervey Walker, Rev. J. B. Turner, John P. Holland, and Morris N. Webb. Of Mr. du Pont's effective work in the victorious campaign for the initiative and referendum we have already spoken. In the successful development of The People's League special credit is due to Mr. Alfred O. Crozier, the President of the League.

Early in January the League was formed for the avowed purpose of furthering the moral and material welfare of the state and to aid in securing and retaining for the people the direct control over their own affairs by the most practicable and effective means. Its specific objects as stated in the constitution are:

"1. To promote the moral, educational and material welfare of the people and the honor and glory of the state.

"2. To help instill high ideals of personal honor, generosity and integrity, stimulate civic pride and public spirit, and increase respect for orderly government and law and loyalty and patriotic devotion to the republic and its institutions.

"3. To aid in destroying the power of graft and corruption and in marshaling organized public sentiment for the protection of the people.

"4. As the fundamental and vitalizing principle of the republic is self-government, and as actual, direct and continuous control by the people is essential to their welfare, the society will support all practicable efforts to lodge and retain that power in the citizenship."

Largely owing to Mr. Crozier, the leading temperance workers who are fighting for local option, have joined heartily in the work of the League. Before a recent convention of temperance workers Mr. Crozier appeared, making an admirable address and pleading for fundamental conditions that would render the triumph of public sentiment possible. During this address he said, when speaking of the evils of the dram-shops and the importance of a local-option law:

"There should be no division of opinion over the demand of the people for a chance to vote upon the matter. That is their fundamental right. To deny this, or the decision of the majority, whatever that may be, is to repudiate the one great principle upon which rests republican government.

"Jefferson taught his great party, and Jackson emphasized it, that the safety and perpetuity of the republic depends upon the power of control being retained in the people themselves. This is meaningless if we deny their request for opportunities to use this power direct when they consider it necessary for the protection of their homes and interests and for the safety of their wives and children upon the public highways.

"The immortal voice of Lincoln led in laying the foundations of the great Republican party upon the same solid rock."

Shortly after the organization of the League, the officials were able to make the gratifying announcement that the membership then numbered one thousand, embracing very many of the most popular and influential citizens of the state, and that from the outlook it was confidently expected that within a few weeks the League would embrace over six thousand members.

One of the first aggressive acts of the League was to attack the corrupt lobby which has been such a disgrace to Delaware in recent years. In speaking of the League's aim in

this direction, one of the leading Wilmington dailies of February first said:

"There are distinct indications that the people of Delaware are heartily tired of having their State absolutely ruled by corrupt predatory corporations for their own selfish ends by means of their mercenary lobbyists. These enterprising individuals not only serve their corporate masters well in misruling the people, but they also inspire the introduction of 'strike' bills against honest corporations and legitimate business to extort money which they represent to be necessary to defeat such bills."

The measure advocated by The People's League to prevent the further scandal of this corrupt and corrupting lobby is similar to the law enacted in New York.

On January 14th the League addressed a communication to the Senate and House of Representatives of Delaware in which it earnestly memorialized for the passage during the present session of the General Assembly of the following:

"1. A law requiring lobbyists to publicly register with the Secretary of State the names and addresses of themselves and each of their employers under suitable regulations and penalties as is required by law in many other states. They should be required to state upon the record each bill they favor or oppose.

"Those with an open, honest purpose or honorable retainer will not object to thus following the practice required in the courts of disclosing publicly the cause in which they appear. Others should be regulated or abated on the ground of public policy.

"2. Suitable legislation establishing the Initiative and Referendum as demanded by the people at the recent election by the remarkable vote of 17,405 for, to only 2,134 against the measure; or eighty-seven to only thirteen per cent.

"You will, no doubt, as the chosen representatives of the people, fully and gladly respond to their will, seeing that the provisions are such as to work no injustice to the people of any part of the state.

"3. Submission of Local Option, as asked, to the vote of the people. This organization favors the measure, not on the ground of temperance, but as the people's constitutional right.

"The principles of self-government, and

the right of the majority under a Republican form of government to express its will and have it respected, are sufficient, we believe, to induce you to respond to the general desire of the people on this matter, however much individual opinions may differ on the merits of the question itself."

#### **Mr. Crozier's Appeal for a City Charter with The Recall as Well as The Initiative and Referendum.**

There is at the present time a prospect of a new charter for Wilmington, and the forces of darkness and light are already in conflict. Predatory interests are seeking to prevent the introduction of measures that would protect the interests of the citizens. The League is looking forward hopefully to securing a model charter. In an interview published in the Wilmington *Morning News* of February 4th, pregnant with vital truths that are applicable to all American cities, Mr. Crozier said:

"The underlying controversy, concealed as much as possible, is between those who desire the people to rule in fact, with an actual voice in their own affairs, and those who, through lack of confidence in the people, or who have sinister objects in view, are unwilling that the majority of the people shall have any real power, except the right to vote away entirely all of their control over their own affairs for four years, putting the same absolutely and unrecoverably in the hands of officials who, after their selection, are entirely independent of the people, and who may have secretly sold out the people and bound themselves hand and foot to the predatory corporations for corruption money with which to secure their own election or appointment.

"Two years is long enough to take the serious risk of being misruled. Four years would not be so objectionable if the charter also provided that every public official could be removed at any time by the affirmative vote of a majority of the electors. This would at once secure direct responsibility to the people and would never have to be used, for no official would chance disgrace by doing things which would outrage the sense of the majority and bring upon him the penalty of dismissal as an inefficient or unfaithful public servant.

"Who will oppose this plain, simple, just and necessary provision? Only those seeking to become sworn trustees for the people and who think they may in office want to do

something the great mass of the people would resent if they had a chance. Or those unfair corporate beneficiaries of the people's favors who have made millions here from gifts of public franchises and intend at all hazards to continue to enjoy them and their constantly enhancing value without paying thereon one single penny of tax to help relieve the overburdened home-owners of Wilmington or the growing needs of the public treasury; or those who have for twenty years ruthlessly violated their plain charter provisions by excessive and illegal charges for the inefficient service they render to the public to an amount said to aggregate more than a half million of dollars.

"These can afford to spend tens of thousands of dollars to elect officials who will serve them provided the people can be deprived of all control over such officials for four long years.

"One simple clause thus making all officials responsible to the people would work a miracle in the government of this city and be an example that would make our fair city famous and a model to be followed by others all over the country. It would put a premium on official honesty instead of, as now, encouraging dishonesty.

"Gladstone once said: 'It is the duty of government to make it as easy as possible for men to do right and as hard as possible for men to do wrong.' We reverse this wise precept by our method of making public officials our masters instead of our servants.

"The charter should contain specific and unambiguous authority to tax franchises as property at their true value, as is done in New

York, thanks to the efforts of President Roosevelt while he was governor, and in most other states.

"The charter will, of course, contain a broad and honest provision establishing completely the principles of the initiative and referendum. Omission of this would be an amazing outrage after having been adopted by the people themselves by an almost unanimous vote. If this is not put in, in legal and effective form, the people will know just whom to hold responsible.

"Recalling Lincoln's celebrated words of wisdom, and changing them to fit local conditions, we justly say to our predatory corporations and their hireling band of corrupt and corrupting legislative and political lobbyists: 'You will fool some of the people all of the time. You have fooled all of the people part of the time. But hereafter you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.'"

The work which the patriotic band in Delaware is doing can be duplicated in other states and municipalities where there are a few high-minded patriots who are willing to consecrate their best energies to the cause of fundamental democracy at the present crucial hour in the history of free institutions in the New World; and certainly there is no labor more needed or more worthy to command the unselfish devotion of patriots than that of stimulating the moral idealism of the people and restoring the government to the people in such a way as to again make the Republic in fact as well as theory "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

## THE ALLEGED OVERWHELMING DEFEAT OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN THE RECENT ELECTION.

A TYPICAL illustration of the untrustworthy character of the daily press when commenting on news about which the plutocracy does not wish the people correctly informed was seen in the way the late German election news was given out, and especially in the long editorials dealing with the alleged crushing of the Socialists of the Empire, which, according to the writers, was indicated by the returns. The one fact on which all these comments were based was the substantial reduction of the representation of the party in

the Reichstag, it being cut down from 79 to 43, a fact which on its face would seem to warrant in a measure the scare headlines and labored editorials which sought to convey to the public the news that Socialism had received a great set-back, that its adherents were deserting it in a wholesale manner, and that it would from now on be a dwindling power.

Such and many similar gloomy predictions, that were merely representative of the wish of the masters of the writers, appeared in daily,

weekly and monthly periodicals from ocean to ocean; yet the fact was that owing to the shamefully inequitable and unjust electoral system that has been in operation for the past forty years, the Socialists, who polled 3,240,000 votes, secured only 43 representatives in Parliament; while the Conservatives, the Kaiser's party, which polled only 1,120,000 votes, elected 80 representatives to Parliament.

But this fact of decreased representation is but part of the story. The Socialist vote at the last election was a little over 3,240,000, or *almost a quarter of a million votes more than the party polled in 1903*; and this enormous gain in four years does not represent merely the increase in the number of *bona fide* Socialists throughout the realm, for the reason that at the 1903 election the Liberals and Radicals, where they felt the Socialists had a better chance of election than any one they could nominate, supported the Socialist ticket in preference to giving the autocratic government and the reactionary Clericals an opportunity for using a pronounced victory to render possible the sinister plans in regard to the further limitation of the people's rights and popular government that the Kaiser had imprudently threatened. The result of this in

1903 was that the Liberal and Radical representation was greatly reduced and the Socialist representation was abnormally augmented. This year the Liberals and Radicals held the field and have materially increased their representation, while the Socialists have lost seats that by the aid of the Liberal votes they carried at the preceding election. But while this is true, as noted above, the Socialist vote shows a net gain above the augmented vote of 1903.

Furthermore, all the government, commercial, social and reactionary influences were centered against the Socialists in the recent election, and a systematic attempt was made, not only to harass and discredit the Socialists, but to bring all persons holding their tenets into disgrace. When one remembers how much a powerful government, a hereditary aristocracy, a great capitalistic press and other reactionary influences in society can do when they unite, it is amazing that over 3,240,000 voters dared to stand up and be counted for social democracy.

We give these explanatory facts in answer to many inquiries from friends as to the real truth touching the German election and its significance.

#### SENATOR LODGE'S LATEST INSULT TO AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

**S**ENATOR Henry Cabot Lodge appears to believe that the people have lost the power to think for themselves and that they are ignorant of the contents of the Constitution. His amazing presumption of popular ignorance in this respect entitles him to pre-eminence among all the persistent upholders of privileged interests and boss-rule in the United States Senate. Our readers will remember our calling attention to his amazing utterances in his oration in Brookline, when he claimed that Direct-Legislation would foster mob-rule; that if it was introduced we might expect a mob to appear at Beacon Hill and seek to awe the legislators. They will also remember Edwin Markham's *exposé* of the sophistry and absurdity of Senator Lodge's alarmist cry in this respect—a cry that any school-boy of ten years of age, who knows anything whatsoever about the nature of Direct-Legislation, knows to be exactly

the reverse of the truth. It is inconceivable that Senator Lodge is so ignorant as not to know that not only does Direct-Legislation not foster mob-rule, but that the chief results that follow its introduction are (1) the rendering of corruption and boss-rule impossible; (2) the preventing of all danger of mob-rule; and (3) the safeguarding of the people from the evils of corrupt legislation or hasty and ill-advised laws. These are facts that in the nature of the case would follow the introduction of Direct-Legislation, and they are the conspicuous results of the operation of Direct-Legislation where it has been employed, as in Switzerland, Oregon and elsewhere.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that Senator Lodge fears the introduction of Direct-Legislation, for in its triumph he sees his power as a boss imperilled. He has long been the master-spirit in one of the most perfectly organized political machines in the United

States—a machine which since Boss Lodge has been reinforced by Senator Crane in its management is said to be as perfect and as powerful as was the Pennsylvania machine in the palmiest days of Quay's domination. But what is astounding is that any United States Senator should so insult the intelligence of American citizens as to presume that they know nothing whatever of the nature of Direct-Legislation. Mr. Lodge's presumption, however, does not end here. Not only does he seem to consider the American public hopelessly deficient in power of reasoning, but he evidently imagines that they know nothing whatsoever about the contents of their own Constitution; for in his eagerness to prevent the people of the various commonwealths from saying who shall represent them in the United States Senate, he recently raised another alarmist cry quite as amazing, when we consider his audience, as his absurdly untrue comments in regard to Direct-Legislation.

When recently addressing the Yale Law School, Senator Lodge said:

"Just now there is a movement on foot to bring about the election of Senators by popular vote. If successful, it will inevitably be

followed by proportional representation in the Senate."

Now to see the absurdity of this utterance one has only to turn to the Constitution of the United States, which says:

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, by application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; . . . provided that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of equal suffrage in the Senate."

The Boston *Herald* in editorially commenting on Mr. Lodge's reckless statement well asks:

"Does Mr. Lodge seriously expect that every state in the Union will consent to having a new representation under which the smaller ones shall not have 'equal suffrage in the Senate' with the larger?"

## THEOLOGICAL UNREST AND SPIRITUAL AWAKENING THROUGH-OUT CHRISTENDOM.

### A World-Wide Religious Revolution.

NOT, we think, since the great political reformation has there been such widespread unrest or such general symptoms of a coming religious awakening as to-day. There have been times when certain nations have come under the compulsion of spiritual idealism, when great leaders awakened the sleeping conscience and sounded the emotional depths of the people, as for example, when Whitefield and the Wesleys electrified England and profoundly influenced the current of national life; but these awakenings have usually been confined to localities or nations. Now, however, a world-wide unrest is in evidence.

In Catholic lands, such as Spain and Italy, for example, the power of the church over the masses is waning in a marked degree. In

France that power seems to have departed to as great a degree as in Mexico, where the church, as in France, allied itself to the monarchial and reactionary forces and thus proved itself to be out of rapport with the republican and popular ideals of free government.

On the other hand, in Germany and England Catholicism has in recent years made substantial gains, drawing to itself many conservative minds who dare not think for themselves and who, becoming alarmed at the broadening horizon of religious truth accepted by the great and masterful religious leaders, have taken refuge in the arms of Rome. There is nothing surprising in this. Always in times of unrest, when scientific investigation and the increasing intelligence of the world have compelled a revision of religious ideas and concepts that have long been pop-

ular, we find two classes of individuals in the church, one frankly accepting the demonstrations of science and the larger revelations that come with increased knowledge, holding that science is necessarily the handmaid of Deity and a revealer of God's truth, and accepting the larger and nobler vision which advancing civilization has rendered possible; the other refusing to investigate or to accept the new conception, seeming to imagine that the acceptance of the newer truth would destroy the fundamentals of true religion. This mental attitude was quite as marked in the days of the Great Nazarene as it is evident to-day.

The story is told of one who had been imprisoned in a cave for thirty years. Finally he was dragged into the glorious sunlight, when he screamed and fled back into the dark recesses, crying that the sunshine poisoned him. So there is ever a large number of timid souls who are blinded by any new revelation of truth and who wish to be told what they are to believe, rather than to search for themselves, and who, whenever humanity steps to a higher vantage ground of truth, where the horizon broadens and the boundaries that seemed fixed and unchangeable when the race was in the valley disappear, fly back to the valley, fearful of the light on the heights and distrustful of an eminence that extends the horizon. To such minds any new truth, which shows that old conceptions must be modified to harmonize with the later revelation, is regarded as destructive. They do not understand that though the appreciation and conceptions of the child might be true in so far as its comprehension could grasp a great truth before it entered its teens, when it reaches manhood the earlier conceptions would be ridiculously inadequate. So with the race. As the truths of the universe are unfolded a broader interpretation is demanded. When Galileo and Copernicus made their discoveries the same terror seized the timid ones as is evident among those who to-day tremble at the broader concept of religious truth rendered necessary by the later revelations of science; but their fears proved groundless and the brave thinkers who resolutely set to work to harmonize the old truths with the new revelation of Divine truth were the apostles of true religion and the servants of God, though denounced as heretics by the dominant religious thought of their time.

And to-day, while there is rushing to and fro in the religious world and while those wedded to ancient concepts and arbitrary dogmas demand that authority usurp the seat of reason, the mighty drift and sweep of the world's thought is toward that liberalism which affords newer, broader, deeper and richer spiritual appreciation of life and its meaning.

#### **Higher Criticism and The New Theology in Germany and Great Britain.**

In Germany and in Great Britain at the present time the liberal movement is very much in evidence. In the former land, under the bold and masterly leadership of Professor Otto Pfleiderer of the University of Berlin, the liberal spiritual movement is rapidly growing. Professor Pfleiderer's writings, notably his masterly critical work, *Christian Origins*, are exerting a far-reaching influence on all the more thoughtful minds who place truth above dogma.

In England the spread of liberalism among the broad wing of the State Church is very marked. Various causes are operating to further this spread of reverent liberalism. Perhaps next to the influence of critical or scientific methods of research in the domain of physical science, archaeology and the investigation of all matters relating to the early church and the origin of the books of the New Testament, the one thing that has exerted the most marked effect in recent years on many leaders in the English church has been the results following the long, painstaking investigations of the English Society for Psychical Research, under the guidance of such eminent and careful investigators as the late F. W. H. Myers, Professor Sidgwick, Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge and many other scientists and critical investigators scarcely less eminent.

The awakening in the State Church, however, has been no more remarkable than the spiritual unrest and expanding thought among non-conformist denominations. This unrest has at last crystallized into a distinct movement that is known as the New Theology, and its most conspicuous leader is the Rev. R. J. Campbell, successor to Joseph Parker as minister of the City Temple, London. Around Dr. Campbell's head of late a storm has been raging, owing to his outspoken utterances in regard to the nature of God, the character of sin and the destiny of the human soul.

**The Religious Ideals of Dr. Campbell and The Leaders of The New Theology.**

A short time since Mr. Campbell gave an outline of the belief held by those who represent the New Theology, which was published in one of the London dailies. In this confession of his faith the distinguished non-conformist clergyman, among other things, said:

"We believe man to be a revelation of God, and the universe one means to the self-manifestation of God. The word 'God' stands for the infinite reality whence all things proceed. Every one, even the most uncompromising materialist, believes in this reality. The new theology in common with the whole scientific world believes that the finite universe is one aspect or expression of that reality; but it thinks of it or him as consciousness rather than a blind force, thereby differing from some scientists. Believing this, we believe that there is thus no real distinction between humanity and the Deity. Our being is the same as God's, although our consciousness of it is limited. We see the revelation of God in everything around us.

"The new theology looks upon evil as a negative rather than a positive term. It is the shadow where light ought to be; it is the perceived privation of good; it belongs only to finiteness. Pain is the effort of the spirit to break through the limitations which it feels to be evil. The new theology believes that the only way in which the true nature of good can be manifested either by God or man is by a struggle against the limitation; and therefore it is not appalled by the long story of cosmic suffering.

"The new theology watches with sympathy the development of modern science, for it believes itself to be in harmony therewith. It is the religious articulation of the scientific method. It therefore follows that it is in sympathy with scientific criticism of the important religious literature known as the Bible. While recognizing the value of the Bible as a unique record of religious experience, it handles it as freely and as critically as it would any other book. It believes that the seat of religious authority is within (not without) the human soul. Individual man is so constituted as to be able to recognize, ray by ray, the truth that helps him upward, no matter from what source it comes.

"The new theology, of course, believes in the immortality of the soul, but only on the ground that every individual consciousness is a ray of the universal consciousness and can not be destroyed. It believes that there are many stages in the upward progress of the soul in the unseen world before it becomes fully and consciously one with its infinite source. We make our destiny in the next world by our behavior in this, and ultimately every soul will be perfected.

"The doctrine of sin which holds us to be blameworthy for deeds that we cannot help, we believe to be a false view. Sin is simply selfishness. It is an offense against the God within, a violation of the law of love. We reject wholly the common interpretation of atonement, that another is beaten for our fault. We believe not in a final judgment, but in a judgment that is ever proceeding. Every sin involves suffering, suffering which can not be remitted by any work of another. When a deed is done, its consequences are eternal.

"We believe Jesus is and was divine, but so are we. His mission was to make us realize our divinity and our oneness with God, and we are called to live the life which he lived."

A further utterance, somewhat more conservative in tone, was given out by three prominent members of the New Theology League as their personal views:

"The ultimate reality and the one hope for man is the Holy Love of God, who, though transcendent, is immanent in nature and humanity, but supremely in Jesus Christ.

"God is the Father of all men, and all men are implicitly his children, made in his image and at unrest till they live for him alone. The germ of divine life is in every soul. The story of the Fall is, in Dr. Dale's words, 'an inspired myth,' conveying a vital religious truth. By man's sin he has strayed from God, but even the prodigal is still God's child. His very remorse is 'the sign of the inextinguishable divinity within his soul.'

"The Bible is the record of God's progressive revelation, but it has a human element, and all its parts have not equal spiritual significance.

"Jesus Christ was God incarnate in the flesh. The question of the Virgin Birth does not touch the fundamental position of Evan-

gelical Theology. Our theory of the process cannot affect the fact of the Incarnation. Seeing Christ we see the Father. The whole life of Christ was a divine self-sacrifice to awaken and develop the latent divinity of man.

"The Atonement is an eternal process, and is set forth in all its fullness in the life and death of our Lord. All who love and suffer so as to lift men to God are helping 'to fill up that which is lacking in the sufferings of Christ.'"

#### **Theological Unrest in The New World.**

The recent heresy trial of Dr. Crapsey in the Episcopal church has served to emphasize the growing liberalism of clergymen and the laity in that church, rather than to emphasize a reactionary tendency. True, Dr. Crapsey was convicted, but Bishop Cox, who boldly admitted that he entertained the same views, remains in good standing, and the request that he be tried for heresy was declined by the proper church authorities; while the numerous expressions of sympathy with Dr. Crapsey's views by prominent Episcopalian clergymen and laymen show how thoroughly a large portion of the church is in *rappart* with his views.

No less marked have been the evidences of the general broadening of the religious views of other denominations in recent years, notably the Congregationalists and Methodists, while the phenomenal growth of Christian Science and the profound hold which it has taken on the spiritual aspirations of its members indicate the general character of the

breaking away from the old dogmatic ideals and the eager reaching out for new spiritual truth that shall prove more vital to the human soul in the present stage of its development.

And herein lies a chief fact of interest and value in the revolution against the old order. If the apostles of the new religious concepts had been content to wrangle over creeds, or if the revolt were confined to the intellectual plane alone, it would be valuable, of course, for all efforts to gain a clearer apprehension of truth are important; but it would hold far less interest for those who believe that the hope of civilization lies in the arousing, cultivation and development of moral idealism and spiritual enthusiasm in the people. But happily for humanity, all these new movements represent that vital spiritual enthusiasm that makes a religion or a movement an upward-impelling force for its disciples.

To-day, as in the time of Jesus, while the upholders of the old dogmas are concerned with the letter of the law and are as intent on proving their theological points as were the Pharisees of old when they sought to discredit Jesus because they did not find in the Scripture that any great prophet should come from Galilee, the upholders of the higher and broader spiritual concepts are appealing to the moral sense of the people and striving to so imbue each follower with lofty idealism as to compel him to live the higher life. This gives special interest and value to the great spiritual awakening that is marking the liberal and new religious movements within and without the elder churches.

#### **INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.**

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,  
Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

##### **Direct-Legislation Bills Before The State Legislatures.**

**I**N QUITE a number of states this year the movement for establishing and safeguarding popular government by means of the direct-vote system has attained enough strength to become the dominant issue with the state legislatures. In some of these states the people have by an advisory vote declared in no uncertain majorities their desire for this

system. Political parties have declared for it. Governors and other leading men are advocating it, and it is only a question in some of these states what form the new system shall take. This however is a most vital question, for the success or failure of direct-legislation depends to a great extent upon the form of the law by which it is established. We have space here for but the briefest synopses of the pending measures.

**Maine.**

THE statutory provision for the initiative and referendum pledged by the Republican party was submitted to the Maine legislature by Representative Weeks of Fairfield. At the hearing on the bill held by the judiciary committee, many prominent and representative men appeared in its support and no one opposed it.

The bill provides that no act or resolution of the legislature shall take effect until ninety days after adjournment, except emergency measures and others of specified character, passed by a two-thirds vote of both houses. And if not less than seven thousand electors petition within the ninety days for reference to the people of any such suspended acts or resolutions, it shall be done at a general or special election, and if the act or acts are ratified by a majority of the popular vote, they shall take effect nine days thereafter.

The electors may propose to the legislature for its consideration any measure except a constitutional amendment, by pasters attached to the official ballot, or by petition. And any measure thus proposed by not less than ten thousand electors, unless enacted by the legislature at the current session, shall be submitted to the electors, together with any amended form, substitute or recommendation of the legislature, in order that the people may make a choice or reject both. The majority vote carries. In case there are competing bills and neither receives a majority, the one receiving the most votes shall be resubmitted if it has a third of the total vote cast. Initiated bills enacted by the legislature shall not be referred unless there is a provision to that effect. The legislature may order a special election on any measure subject to the vote of the people. The veto power of the governor does not extend to referred bills, and bills initiated by the people and passed by the legislature without change, if vetoed shall be referred to the people at the next general election. The governor may, and on petition of fifteen thousand electors, shall order a special election on either initiated or referred bills. The city council of any city may establish the initiative and referendum in municipal affairs.

**Michigan.**

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment for the initiative and referendum and recall, drafted

by the State Federation of Direct-Legislation Forces, has been introduced in the House by Representative Norton and in the Senate by Senator Bland. It provides for the initiation of statutes or constitutional amendments upon petition of 30,000 and the referendum of any but emergency measures upon a petition of the same number. For the recall of a State official a petition of 50,000 is required, one-half of whom must have voted for the person who is to be recalled. Thousands of letters and petitions are being sent in to the legislators at Lansing asking for the submission of this constitutional law to the voters at the April election. "Two hundred thousand intelligent men and women," says the *Lansing Journal*, "are actively engaged in the campaign for direct-legislation in this state."

**Minnesota.**

GOVERNOR Johnson in his message to the legislature this year said:

"I would call your attention to the merits of the advisory initiative and referendum. This permits the people of a state, county, city, village, or town, to express their views upon questions affecting their organizations. The advisory initiative and referendum is but a step farther than the right of petition, and is not binding upon their officers. The enactment of a law providing for an advisory initiative and referendum can be accomplished without a constitutional amendment, and I am firmly of the opinion that such legislation is desirable."

In accordance with the Governor's recommendation, Senator Fitzpatrick has introduced a bill for an amendment to the state constitution, providing for the full initiative and referendum in State affairs.

**Massachusetts.**

THE Public Opinion Bill which is advocated by the Massachusetts Public Opinion League, with the support of all the direct-legislation forces of the state is reported to have good prospects of becoming a law. It provides for a purely advisory initiative and referendum in state, cities, and towns upon petition of three per cent. of the voters, that being the percentage required to constitute a political party. Pledges for the support of this measure were received by the league from a majority of the members of the legislature before election.

**Indiana.**

**REPRESENTATIVE E. A. BAKER** of Elkhart county, has introduced a bill requiring ratification by referendum, of all public utility contracts and franchises. The bill takes the form of an amendment to the cities and towns law of 1905.

"Under the law the people have nothing to say concerning the letting of valuable franchises or the making of big public contracts, and they would be at the mercy of corrupt councils or boards," said Mr. Baker. "This is one of the most vicious features of the law. Complaints are coming from every section of the state on this score. Here in Indianapolis I understand there is agitation against renewing the contract with the Indianapolis Gas Company at a price of ninety cents a thousand feet, yet the people could not help themselves if the Board of Public Works and the Council were determined to go ahead.

"I would amend the cities and towns law so that all such contracts and franchises shall be put before the people for approval and not before the common councils. Such an amendment would eliminate all possibility of graft in contracts and franchises."

---

#### The City of Wilmington Secures The Mandatory Initiative and Referendum.

As the fruition of the work of the Initiative and Referendum League of Delaware, and of the Peoples' League of Delaware, referred to at some length elsewhere in this issue of *THE ARENA*, at the session of the legislature just ended, the city of Wilmington has secured the mandatory Initiative and Referendum.

Much credit for the passage of the bill is due to the patriotic, statesmanlike and intelligent labors of Representative Frank R. Paradee, Republican, and Senator Thomas M. Monaghan, Democrat. The full text of the bill which was promptly signed by Governor Lea, and is now law, follows:

"Sec. 1. On application addressed to The Mayor and Council of Wilmington, signed by citizens of the City of Wilmington, qualified to vote at the last preceding election for the mayor of the said city, aggregating in number not less than ten percentum of the whole number of votes cast at such election for such mayor, asking for the submission to the peo-

ple of the said city of any question relating to the affairs of the said city, for an expression of opinion thereon, such question shall be placed before the people at the next city election. Every person signing any such application shall put or have put after his signature the designation of the election district in the said city in which he was qualified to vote at the last preceding election for mayor of said city.

"Sec. 2. Such applications shall be filed with the mayor at least sixty days before the election at which such question is to be submitted, and the persons signing such applications shall be considered *prima facie* as citizens qualified to vote at the last preceding election for the mayor of the said city.

"Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the said mayor, not less than twenty days before the city election at which the said questions are to be submitted, to transmit the same to the persons who may then have the duty of preparing ballots for the said election; and it shall be the duty of such persons to prepare separate ballots to be used at the said election, containing the question so to be submitted as aforesaid, with the words 'yes' and 'no' printed at the foot of such ballot; that is to say, following the question to be voted upon as it appears upon the ballot, the words 'yes' and 'no' shall appear in the following form: Yes, ..... | No, ..... Any person qualified to vote at such city election may cast a vote in favor of such question by placing a cross opposite the word 'yes,' and any such person desiring to vote against the same may do so by placing a cross opposite the word 'no.'

"Sec. 4. The said ballots shall be prepared, counted, canvassed and returned in the same way as provided by law in relation to ballots cast at the said city election.

"Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the persons so required by law to furnish ballot-boxes to be used at the city election, to furnish a separate ballot-box for each election district in said city, in which separate ballot-box the ballots herein provided for shall be cast, and said ballots shall not be commingled with the other ballots used at such city election.

"Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of the election officers in each election district in the said city to count the said ballots after the same have been cast, and to make return thereof in all respects as provided by law in relation to bal-

lots cast at the said city election, provided, however, that the number of ballots cast for or against the said question shall be entered upon separate sheets to be furnished for that purpose. Certificates, showing the result of the said vote, shall be made in the manner as now provided by law in relation to certificates of the vote cast at the city election, which certificates shall be certified, returned and delivered in all respects as now provided by law in relation to the city election.

"Sec. 7. The expense of printing said ballots, procuring the ballot-boxes, and all expenses connected with the taking of the said vote shall be borne as is provided in relation to other expenses incurred at the said city election.

"Sec. 8. Should any questions submitted to the qualified electors of the City of Wilmington, as provided in this Act, receive a majority of the votes cast thereon at the said election and the subject be within the corporate powers of the said Mayor and Council of Wilmington or of any department or branch thereof, then it shall be the duty of the City Council, or of any commission or any other official or officials of the City of Wilmington having jurisdiction therein, to adopt, without unnecessary delay, such ordinances, rules or regulations as may be necessary for putting into effect the popular will thus expressed. The failure of any member of such City Council, or Commission, or of any official of said city to perform any duty herein imposed upon him, or the obstruction, hindrance, or delay by him of the adoption of any ordinance, rule or regulation as herein provided for, shall be deemed a misdemeanor and be punishable by a fine at the discretion of the trial court. Conviction of such an offense shall operate to remove the person so convicted from any municipal office he then holds, and render him ineligible to hold any position as an official or employé of the City of Wilmington for a period of five years from the date of such conviction."

The House of Representatives voted unanimously for this bill. In the Senate, but one man—Dr. Thomas C. Moore, of Smyrna, from the First Senatorial District of Kent county—enjoys the distinction of having opposed the will of the people of the state and also of the voters of his own district, in which, last November, on the Initiative and Refer-

endum, the vote stood: "Yes," 452; "No," 237; a majority of 215 votes.

At the November election the vote of Wilmington, on the Initiative and Referendum, was "Yes," 10,501; "No," 781.

#### The Betrayal of The State Advisory Initiative and Referendum in Delaware.

AT THE late biennial session of the legislature of Delaware there closed, for the time being, a battle fraught with deep significance to the people of the state.

As related in *THE ARENA* for December, at the recent election held on November 6th last, the following separate ballot was required by law to be given to every voter at the same time the regular ballots were handed to him:

"Shall the General Assembly of the State of Delaware provide a system of Advisory Initiative and Referendum?"

Notwithstanding that apparently organized opposition tried to defeat the proposition by systematically withholding the separate ballots from the voters except when they insisted upon having them, this proposition received the tremendous majority of 15,271 votes, a majority that would have been decisive to all representatives and senators who honestly intended to represent the people who elected them, and not the enemies of the people or the holders of special privilege.

A bill, embodying the purpose expressed in the ballot was introduced in the House of Representatives by Hon. Frank R. Paradee.

Eighteen representatives (the exact number required by the Constitution of the state) voted "yea." Here is the honor-roll of the men who respected the will of their constituents: Benjamin B. Allen, Dr. T. O. Cooper, Chauncey P. Holcomb and Joseph E. McCafferty, Democrats; Charles S. Conwell, Alex. P. Corbitt, William H. Evans, Darlington Flinn, Gammel Garrison, Jeremiah E. Harvey, James A. Hiron, Richard Hodgson, Robert Keenan, Oliver A. Newton, Frank R. Paradee, Howard Rash, Isaac V. Richards and Wilmer C. Staats, Republicans.

Twelve *mis*-representatives disobeyed the will of a majority of their constituents. Their names follow, together with the vote of last November for and against the Initiative and Referendum:

	How His Constituents Voted Last November on the Initiative and Referendum.		
	"Yes."	"No."	Majority.
William H. Baggs, Rep.,.	327	108	219
Richard T. Cann, Jr. Dem.,	153	33	120
T. L. Cooper, Dem., . . . .	123	14	100
Luther S. Cubbage, Rep.,.	366	13	353
William H. Elliott, Rep.,.	154	2	152
Albert Harrington, Dem.,	419	18	401
Edward P. Knotts, Rep.,.	151	43	108
Joshua J. Lambdin, Dem.,	69	3	66
John W. Messick, Rep.,.	34	25	9
J. C. Palmer, Rep., . . . .	187	43	144
Wm. H. Richardson, Rep.,	416	24	392
William G. Williams, Rep.,	112	5	107

Here are the names of the absentees: John P. Wilson, James L. Donovan and Henry O. Bennum, Jr., Republicans; and Herman C. Taylor and Noah H. James, Democrats.

After the bill passed the House of Representatives it was sent to the Senate, where Senator Thomas M. Monaghan, of New Castle county, asked for the necessary unanimous consent to have the bill taken up by the Senate sitting as the Committee of the Whole, and without which the bill could not be reached before final adjournment. Senator David C. Rose, Democrat, *mis*-representing the Sixth Senatorial District of New Castle county, objected, and thereby defeated the will of a majority of 15,271 sovereign voters of the State of Delaware. Senator Rose is a hold-over member. He cannot, however, urge that as a reason for his action, because 359 voters in his district last November instructed him to vote for such a measure, while only 191 voted "no"—a majority of 168 in favor of the bill his objection had killed.

#### Wisconsin.

THE LEGISLATURE of Wisconsin has three important direct legislation bills before it. Assemblyman Elver's bill authorizes common councils of cities to submit ordinances to the people without petition and requires them to do so upon petition, no measure having been negatived by a referendum to be passed within three years. Assemblyman Thompson of Madison has introduced a much better bill establishing both initiative and referendum upon county as well as city affairs. This bill is framed upon the best models and should be adopted. Senator Theodore W. Brazeau has introduced a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment reserving to the people the right to require by a five per cent. petition that any law passed by the legislature

shall be submitted to the people before going into effect.

#### Missouri.

GOVERNOR FOLK in his message to the legislature said: "Government by the people is best where the government is nearest to the people. I hope you will adopt a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing for the initiative and referendum in legislation. This will eliminate the incentive for corruption in legislative affairs, for the control will then rest with the people. Wherever the initiative and referendum has been tried—and it has in Oregon and other states—the result has been most satisfactory. It puts an effective stop to bribery in legislative halls, for bribery of legislators would be useless where the people are the final arbiter of a measure. I regard this as of much importance in the final elimination of corruption, and the establishment of true representative government."

In accordance with his request, the second resolution introduced in the House was a constitutional amendment embodying these principles. The Direct-Legislation League of Missouri has sent the indefatigable S. L. Moser to Jefferson City to lobby for it, and Dr. W. P. Hill, president of the Direct-Legislation League is furnishing the members with elucidating literature. He thinks it is almost sure to pass at this session. The amendment is similar to those introduced for this purpose in other states, conforming in general terms to the Oregon law. It is reported to have been prepared by Governor Folk himself. Two other Direct-Legislation bills have been introduced, one of them by Senator Cooper, with the endorsement of the State Federation of Labor. How much better if all the reform forces had adopted the suggestion of the National Federation for People's Rule and united upon a bill before the meeting of the legislature.

#### Pennsylvania.

EX-SENATOR William Flynn of Pittsburg, is the author of a carefully-drawn bill which has been introduced into the legislature by Representative McCulaugh of Pittsburg. This bill is beyond question the best as yet submitted in any state, being modelled very closely upon a bill recommended by Mr. George H. Shibley of Washington. It is

destined to accomplish effective direct-legislation, without encountering difficulties involved in securing a constitutional amendment. It provides the initiative and referendum upon terms similar to those of the Oregon law, and also provides in case of the use of the initiative for the submission of a rival bill or competing bill by the legislature, the two bills to be chosen between by the people. It also provides for the submission of arguments to the voters, and applies to cities and towns as well as to the state.

Mr. Flynn has long been an advocate of direct-legislation, and his bill shows careful study of the subject. He is a leader of great power who has had long experience in practical politics, and his advocacy of this bill is full of significance for the State of Pennsylvania. He has the hearty endorsement of the Pennsylvania Referendum League and of many prominent men in the state.

#### Rhode Island.

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment establishing a constitutional initiative in ten per cent. of the voters is now before the legislature of this state. Ex-Governor Garvin, Ex-Chief Justice Matteson, Bishop McVickar, and other prominent men are giving it their hearty support, and a strong case was put up for the bill at the committee hearings.

#### Oklahoma.

THE REPORT of the committee on the initiative and referendum was formally adopted by the constitutional convention on January 29th. The chapter is short and will be found in full in the April number of *Equity*. The Oregon law is closely followed. The application of the principle to local affairs is provided for, and the law is made self-operative. The sentiment in the new state is practically unanimous in favor of these safeguards of popular liberty, and while the provisions are not without defects the country may well look for a better government, cleaner legislation, and a purer democracy in this new sister state who now takes her seat in the front row.

#### West Virginia.

THE CAMPBELL bill providing for the initiative and referendum in this state has been defeated in the Senate.

#### California.

SENATOR Caminetti, the Democratic member from Jackson, has introduced a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. Under the amendment the legislative power of the state would be vested in the Senate and Assembly, as at present, but the people would "reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the laws, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislature. They would also reserve the power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature."

The amendment provides that no more than eight per cent. of the legal voters—taking the last general election as a basis—shall be required to propose any measure by petition, every such petition to include the full text of the proposed measure.

The referendum may, according to Caminetti's amendment, be either by petition signed by five per cent. of the legal voters or by the legislature itself, but this is not to apply to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety. The power of the Governor is not to extend to a measure referred to the people.

Assemblyman J. O. Davis has introduced a similar measure in the House, but his bill goes somewhat further than the Senator's in enlarging the present law extending direct-legislation to municipalities.

#### Referendum in Chicago Traction Fight.

NO BETTER justification for the Illinois "public opinion" form of referendum need to be found than that furnished by the recent chapter in the Chicago traction controversy. After the people had spoken repeatedly and in great majorities for public-ownership, after they had elected officers pledged to make no settlement of the traction question without a referendum provision, the Board of Aldermen, defying the will of the people, and ignoring their own pledges, passed the settlement ordinances in an attempt to finally settle the matter upon very questionable terms. Only ten days remained in which, under the law, a referendum petition of eighty-seven thousand names should be filed to give the people a chance to pass upon these ordinances at the spring election. The papers of Chicago, the traction interests, and all their sympathizers, declared that this petition could not be secured. But it was. Petitions bearing

an aggregate of 313,306 names were secured in that short time. Says *The Public*:

"It was a rude awakening that of the Chicago newspapers and aldermen and lynx-eyed "business" men when their loud assertions that the people wanted no referendum on the traction ordinances was met with the biggest and strongest and cleanest set of petitions ever filed for a referendum vote. The time had been reduced to a minimum, in the expectation of making the effective circulation of the petitions impossible. The petitions had been clamorously denounced as saturated with fraud and forgery, and the conspirators, to make good, had "planted" upon the petition-collectors scores of thousands of false and forged signatures. One of their methods was to "plant" whole sheets of names with no genuine signatures upon them and so keyed as to enable men in the secret to pull them out of a pile of sheets apparently at random. Had this trick prevailed, some three hundred sheets, "taken at random," would have been exploited by the subsidized newspapers as proof of fraudulent "saturation." But Mayor Dunne himself had the inspection done, and after all suspicious sheets had been thrown out, one hundred and forty-one thousand signatures remained. From this number a large deduction was made as allowance for joke names, individual frauds, and errors, which reduced the unimpeachable list to one hundred and twelve thousand. Afterwards additional sheets with over sixty thousand signatures came in and these were not inspected, for it was unnecessary. At once there was a painful silence. It was that kind of silence after noise which awakens the heaviest sleeper. The "business" interests, the clubs, the newspapers, realized that public opinion is not confined to the "Loop."

#### California Cities.

THE NEW city charter of Alameda has been approved by the legislature. This is a progressive document and contains the referendum feature which is now being incorporated in all modern charters. By the adoption of a new charter at the election Tuesday the city of Santa Cruz brought itself into the front rank of up-to-date municipalities. Its charter embodies the latest ideas in municipal government, including direct-legislation. The "recall" proposition which was put to the voters separately was carried by a vote of five

to one. This shows the sentiment of the people in regard to resuming the right of self-government.

#### Government by Commissions.

WHAT is known as the Galveston plan of governing cities by commission is being agitated in many parts of the country. A bill providing for the system is said to be likely to be passed in the Kansas legislature. With the initiative and referendum the commission system might prove a great improvement over many of our existing city governments, and without the provision of direct-legislation it would be a step in the wrong direction, in the direction of autocracy rather than democracy.

#### Miscellaneous Items.

REFERENDUMS are being taken by the people in the towns and cities throughout the country to a far greater extent than can be realized by those objectors to the system who say that the people will not vote or that they do not care or who claim that the introduction of the system involves an impractical revolution. In addition to the referendum votes otherwise mentioned in the last and current numbers of *THE ARENA*, the papers have brought to us during the past two months reports of 117 referendum votes, a large number of which were upon questions of finance and public policy.

THE CITIES of Joplin and Springfield, Missouri, are agitating for a new charter containing provisions for the initiative and referendum and recall. This is in line with Governor Folk's message, and there seem to be good chances of success.

THE CITIZENS of Davenport, Iowa, have overwhelmed the mayor and aldermen with petitions that certain franchises to erect and operate gas, electric light, and power plants, be submitted to a vote of the qualified electors.

THE CITIZENS of Rutland, Vermont, took a referendum vote on the question of a new city charter on February 5th.

Two referendum liquor bills are before the Alabama legislature, one giving counties local option and the other permitting them to choose

between the licensed saloon and the dispensary system.

THE PITTSBURG *Leader* is demanding that the pending street-railway franchise in that city be submitted to a vote of the people.

WESTBROOK, Maine, is to have a new charter with a provision in it for the referendum.

THE VOTERS of Northampton, Massachusetts, are to take a referendum on certain important amendments to the charter of that city.

BILLS to revise the charter of Grand Rapids are before the Michigan legislature, one to establish the initiative and recall, the city already having the referendum, and the other to put into effect the non-partisan system of municipal elections demanded by the people at the last election.

THE AUTHORITIES of Cleveland, Ohio, have decided to submit the question of repairing the great Central viaduct to the test of a popular vote. The repairs will require a special bond issue.

THE CENTRAL Labor Union of Brooklyn, after listening to an address by H. B. Maurer, Secretary of the New York Referendum League, unanimously and enthusiastically instructed their legislative committee to coöper-

ate with the Referendum League in its work.

BILLS are before the Massachusetts legislature providing for the abolition of capital punishment, and for the annulment of the lease of the Boston and Albany railroad to the New York Central, both of them with referendum clauses.

A BILL is before the New Jersey legislature providing for the extension of civil service to state, county, and municipal officeholders, with the referendum clause attached. Another bill before this legislature provides for the referendum in each town on the question of opening saloons on Sundays.

THE Referendum League of Buffalo, of which Mr. Lewis Stockton is president, is striving to have a system of direct-legislation, direct nominations, and recall, incorporated in the proposed new charter of that city.

THE PEOPLE of Manitoba, Canada, voted ten thousand to seven thousand on the referendum for public-ownership of telephones.

THE Board of Aldermen of Brockton, Massachusetts, have passed an order to allow the people to petition for a referendum vote on any important matter that comes before the city government. It is understood that this order really confers the right of referendum in all such matters as franchises.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.\*

BY RALPH ALBERTSON.

### A Legal Decision.

AN IMPORTANT decision affecting municipal-ownership was recently handed down by the Supreme Court of Georgia in *Baker vs. Carterville*. Baker enjoined the city from issuing bonds on the ground that the notice served for a bond election was not

sufficiently explicit to apprise the voters of the city's purpose and, besides, that the city had no right to embark in a commercial and manufacturing enterprise. The court has confirmed the judgment of the lower court in denying the injunction.

### New Electric Light Plants.

THE MOVEMENT which has resulted in the very general public-ownership of water-works systems, and in the universal acknowledgment that water-works ought to be owned and

\*This department is to be prepared by Professor Frank Parsons, but Professor Parsons is at present recovering from a serious illness; and until he is able to take upon himself the preparation of the department, Mr. Albertson has kindly consented to do the work.

operated by the municipalities, has become so general that we do not consider the details of the news of sufficient significance to call for space in this department. The fight for public-ownership of street-cars has only just begun and is largely confined to a few localities where it is full of interest and significance. The great fight, however, that is being waged to-day in municipalities throughout the land, between the public-service corporations and the people, is on the subjects of electric lights, gas, and possibly telephones. Probably few people realize how many victories are won for the people's cause in this struggle. While many of the towns and cities which are establishing their own plants are among the smaller-sized communities, the movement is gaining strength as well in some of our metropolitan cities. During the past two months we have received news of steps being taken in establishing municipal electric-light or gas plants in the following thirty-seven cities and towns:

Newman, Sandersville, Bremen, Edgewood, Georgia; Hagerstown, Marion, Indiana; Covington, Coventry, Kentucky; West Monroe, Rowlesburg, Zwolle, Louisiana; Minneapolis, Deer River, Minnesota; Pawpaw, West Virginia; Ashland, Wisconsin; Panama, Tama, Iowa; Lumberton, Apex, North Carolina; Elburn, Maple Park, Illinois; Senatobia, Mississippi; Freemont, Blue Hill, Tekamah, Nebraska; Argenta, Ada, Arkansas; Herington, Kansas; Centralia, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri; Arlington, Ohio; Aberdeen, South Dakota; Davison, Newport, Michigan; Seneca, South Carolina; Baker City, Oregon; Brownsville, Texas.

In addition to the above, reports have reached us during these two months of extensions and improvements being made in municipal electric-light or gas plants in the following places:

Richmond, Virginia; Bloomington, Sterling, Illinois; Athens, Bryan, Hamilton, Ohio; Newton, Iowa; Thief River Falls, Minnesota; Jacksonville, Florida; Bainbridge, Elberton, Thomasville, Georgia; Franklin, Louisiana; Salem, Oregon; Morristown, Tennessee; Newcastle, Indiana; Pasadena, California.

#### Cleveland's Street Cars.

AFTER a long and bitter fight the Cleveland Electric Company has been compelled to accede to Mayor Tom L. Johnson's first demand

and the people of Cleveland are now enjoying three-cent car-rides throughout the city. An armistice has been arranged between the old company and the city pending the granting of the expired franchises. This was brought about as a result of a number of legal decisions the principal one of which, filed in the United States Supreme Court, held that some of the most important of the Cleveland Electric Company's franchises had expired. The Municipal Traction Company, which is the holding company organized for the purpose of getting possession of the traction properties to turn them over to the city when State legislation can be secured making this possible, is now negotiating with the Cleveland Electric Company for purchase or lease of its properties; and the "Concon" is quite willing to negotiate. That municipal-ownership will be the result there is very little room for doubt, and that Cleveland may yet succeed, before Chicago, in the repatriation of her traction utilities is not at all improbable. Concerning this movement, Mayor Johnson has recently said:

"The principal advantage in municipal-ownership is the removing of the public service from the influence of an interest that never sleeps, that never rests, but is constantly alive to the interests of its stockholders, which are averse to the public interest. This influence, I think, is the chief cause of bad government, for so long as you offer such an immense price in the way of public franchise grabs, franchise-seekers will be sure to corrupt your government. It is not the benefit of low fares, nor betterment of service, that stimulates me to what is called an attack on public corporations, but it is the purification of the political situation in the great cities. Remove that handicap and you give the municipality opportunity to accomplish great things to make the city a better place for people to live in."

---

#### South Norwalk, Connecticut.

ONE OF the most instructive instances of municipal-ownership in this country is furnished by the Municipal Electric Works of South Norwalk. Under the able management of Mr. Albert E. Winchester, the general superintendent, this plant, now more than fourteen years old has made a splendid demonstration of economy, efficiency, and good service.

During the first six years the plant furnished

city light only. Since 1898 it has done commercial lighting.

The total liabilities of the plant, according to the statement of January 1, 1907, are \$74,694, and against this there is a surplus of \$47,905. Last year's receipts were \$89,077; operating expenses, interest and depreciation amounted to \$26,493, leaving a net gain of \$12,584, or 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the entire cost of the plant.

The Commissioners estimate that, allowing for all items, including interest and depreciation, the cost of the street-lights last year was \$6,540, which is \$1,526 less than they would have cost if paid for at the rate charged Norwalk by a private company, i. e., \$74 per lamp-year; (the average for the state is \$83.71); and that on the same basis the total saving since the starting of the plant has been \$21,478.00.

---

#### Burlington, Vermont.

THE BOARD of Electric Light Commissioners has made its first report covering a year's service of the plant. The total earnings of the plant are \$24,136, and the expenses, including interest on bonds and all operating expenses, have amounted to \$20,204, leaving a net gain for the year of \$3,932. During the year there have been installed and maintained sixteen additional street-lights, making a total of 234 arc lights. For these sixteen lights only \$103 in excess of the previous year's cost has been credited to the plant. Considerable new equipment has been added during the year.

---

#### Springfield's "Failure."

THE DAILY papers are making much of the so-called failure of the municipal electric-lighting plant of Springfield, Illinois. The reason for this noise is that a private company has had power enough with the city council to get an electric lighting franchise. The facts are that Springfield owns a plant for public lighting only and has no power to do a commercial lighting business, and this plant has been under a lease to a private corporation. The city is at the mercy of the monopoly politicians who have not been successful at serving two masters. Slight as has been the element of public-ownership in this case, it still has reduced the cost of street-lighting from \$137.50 per arc light per year to less than \$60.

#### Street Car Killings.

THE DIFFERENCE between Europe and America in the valuation of human life is emphasized with startling distinctness by John P. Fox, in an article entitled "The Needless Slaughter by Street-Cars" in the March number of *Everybody's Magazine*. Mr. Fox, who has made a study of street-railways on both continents, gives some statistics which are appalling. In London, for instance, but 27 deaths against 227 for Greater New York, were caused by street-cars for a year's period, and in Liverpool, where the lines are owned and operated by the city, 4 people only were killed by the tramways in 1905. The various companies of Greater New York reported for 1905 a total of \$3,103,002 paid out in damages and litigation expenses. This is equivalent to 60 million fares a year. The total amount of expenses paid out by the whole of Great Britain for the same period was \$591,000.

The exceedingly small number of deaths caused in Liverpool is due to the use of a very effective and inexpensive fender which is in use on all the cars. Mr. Fox says that he has tried in vain for several years to induce the Boston Elevated Company and other of our privately-owned American companies to adopt this simple device, but they invariably plead poverty. In evidence of the success of the Liverpool fender, this comparison is given: 1898, 41,000,000 passengers carried, 7 persons killed; 1905, 119,000,000 passengers carried, 4 persons killed.

Of the 344 persons who had fallen on the tracks of the cars not one had been run over and killed. German cities, notably Berlin, show practically the same proportion of accidents as Liverpool.

In the use of power-brakes the European lines are greatly superior to ours—there is not one great city in Europe on whose cars hand-brakes only are to be found, while in New York city there are but two or three cars out of 2,000 upon which power-brakes are used.

Concerning the question of ownership, Mr. Fox says: "As it is there seems to be no hope of a perfect street-railway service until the time comes for municipal-ownership, under the stimulus of which the English cities are pushing so far ahead of us and upsetting all our notions of what municipalities can accomplish. The English municipal street-railways are the safest, the cheapest to ride on, the

most economically managed, the most progressive and furnish the most seats."

#### Canadian Railways.

A LARGELY signed petition from the merchants and other citizens of St. George and St. John, N. B., to the Board of Trade, asks that the New Brunswick Southern Railway be taken over by the Intercolonial Railway and made a part of the Government system. There is much dissatisfaction with the service under private management. It is owned by the Russell Sage estate.

According to a statement made by H. R. Emmerson, minister of railways and canals, the government is planning to absorb half a dozen or more lines which connect with the Intercolonial.

The newspaper organ of Minister Emmer-son, commenting on the proposed purchase of private lines, says: "It is within the bounds of possibility that the forward movement will not stop until a government railroad setting the pace in good service and serving as a regulator of rates for all other lines, reaches from ocean to ocean, a great transcontinental road in the interests of the whole people, not of a few capitalists, a railroad whose motto is not all the tariff the traffic will stand, but the lowest rates and the best service the revenue will stand."

In addition to the Intercolonial system, the government owns the Prince Edward Island Railway. Some time ago the Canada Eastern Railway, running partly across this province, from Chatham to Fredericton, was purchased by the government.

#### Italy's Railways.

IF THE American railroads were nationalized, says the *New York World*; if a man could ride from New York to Philadelphia for 75 cents; if a drummer could buy for \$240 a ticket to tour all New England for a year, riding when and where he chose; if a passenger could go from Bangor to Chicago for \$7 on a board seat or for \$17.50 in a parlor-car, we might understand the interest which the railway experiment of the Italian government is creating.

Less than three months' trial of the new state schedules, which went into effect November 1, leaves no doubt of their popularity. Passenger travel is fast increasing and the gross income leaps upward in spite of cheaper

rates. As a railroad manager Italy is up-to-date and ambitious. It has borrowed the zone tariff from Hungary; from England the policy of running third-class cars on express trains, which the French and even the Austrian railways have not yet adopted; from Switzerland its cheap monthly tickets, and from Germany the endeavor to reckon indirect as well as direct benefits of cheap transport.

On the other hand the equipment, taken over from the private companies about a year ago, is so very poor that the service is bad. The cars are old and dirty. The trains are not on time. The engines are fit only for junk, being from 20 to 30 years old. The government recognizes the difficulties. A loan of \$200,000,000 has been voted for railway improvement, and this will be expended with that cautious economy which has of late years turned the Italian deficit into a surplus.

#### Japanese Railways.

THE RAILWAY Nationalization Act passed by the Japanese government about a year ago was no sudden revolution, but rather the carrying out of a long-cherished purpose of the government, according to Henry George, Jr., in an article in the *Times Magazine* for February. The Japanese government has always looked upon the railroad as a steam public highway, that should, like every other public highway, belong to the public. In granting private charters therefore the government was careful to enforce honesty in the financial operations of the corporations. Debenture bonds and mortgage bonds were alike forbidden. Railroad shares could not be acquired except by the payment of money. The stock could not be watered. Severe restrictions were placed about the chartering or hiring of a railroad to others than the company chartered for the purpose. This prevented the wheel-within-a-wheel game which is so well played in the United States. Rates were fixed by law; third-class passenger rates could not exceed one cent a mile. The government retained strict control of the management and reserved the right of purchasing the line with all its appurtenances at the end of twenty-five years. Meanwhile the government itself built the more expensive lines which were not so attractive to private capital, and has therefore been in the field of railroad operation. Mr. George says that he is persuaded that the

private service is as good as it is mainly because the government service sets a high standard which the other must follow.

In taking over about 3,000 miles of private line the government is paying twenty times 11 per cent. of the cost of construction. This will amount to about \$210,000,000, which the roads themselves it is estimated will pay in thirty-two years' time. The annual profit of the lines after the complete redemption of the loan is estimated at \$26,500,000.

#### Among The Towns and Cities.

THE MUNICIPAL plant of Alameda, California, has just reduced the price of electricity to private consumers from 10 cents to 7 cents per thousand kilowatts. The rate to the city itself was reduced from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

THE MUNICIPAL gas-plant of Bellefontaine, Ohio, had a prosperous year. Expenses were paid, two miles of mains built, nearly \$5,000 was added to the sinking-fund for interest on bonds, and a balance of nearly \$5,000 remained in the treasury at the end of the year.

THE ELECTRIC lighting plant belonging to the village of Skaneateles, New York, has cost \$28,743, of which \$4,121 has been paid out of revenue from the plant. The plant has paid all its operating expenses, paid for extensions amounting to \$5,700, interest on bonds, and \$3,000 on capital account.

A RECENT act of the Vermont legislature rules that "obligations created for a water-

supply, sewers, or electric lights shall not be taken into account" in the determination of the permitted indebtedness of a city.

THE COST per arc light of 2,000 c. p. in Grand Rapids (municipal works), allowing for taxes, depreciation and interest is \$57.25, somewhat less than last year.

IT IS found that the 2,000 c. p. lamps furnished by the private corporation in Terre Haute develop only 1,500 c. p. The city is refusing to pay the lighting company's bills, and claiming the right to collect \$6,000 a year for the deficiency in light for the past five or six years.

THE CITIZENS of Groveland, Massachusetts, have voted overwhelmingly in favor of the establishing of an electric light and power plant. This plant will do a commercial business as well as the city lighting.

THE CITIES of Cambridge and Holyoke, Massachusetts, are asking the legislature for power to establish their own ice-plants.

SAN DIEGO, California, under municipal-ownership has brought the cost of water lower than any other city on the Pacific coast.

NEW YORK City's ferry from the Battery to Long Island pays wages, says the *Herald*, from 25 to 50 per cent. per capita higher than the ferries operated by the great railway corporations.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

#### NEWS OF THE COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,  
Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

##### The Co-operative Association of America.

THE GREAT department store at Lewiston, Maine, which was established by Mr. Bradford Peck, and which through his foresight and public spirit, was transformed into a coöperative store, as the first local plant of the Coöperative Association of America, has recently issued its semi-annual report, showing the business to be in a healthy and

prosperous condition, and the spirit as well as the form of coöperation to be firmly implanted in the organization.

The Coöperative Association of America has been described at length in previous issues of *THE ARENA*. Several changes in the plans and method of the association have been made. It is no longer proceeding along the Rochdale line of distribution of profits among

purchasers, but is confining itself strictly to its original plan and purpose of building up a people's trust, and therefore is conserving its energies and perfecting its own organization. The Co-workers Club, who have practical charge of the management of the big store in Lewiston, is a truly co-operative body of faithful workers. During the past year they have so managed this business, that they have been able not only to lay aside the reserve and contingent funds that are required by the trustees of the property, but also to increase the surplus of the institution many thousands of dollars, and to give themselves vacations of two weeks in winter and two weeks in summer, on pay, and then vote to themselves dividends of five per cent. upon their wages. This is a form of co-operation which provides for the security of the investment as no other form does, by placing it in trust. It furnishes a stimulus for effort which is not to be found in the competitive system, and it points the way to a larger organization of industry, in farms and factories, as well as stores, along co-operative lines.

The treasury statement is as follows:

**ASSETS.**

The Great Department Store,	\$150,000 00
Real estate,	34,000 00
Stocks and bonds,	11,350 00
Notes receivable,	25,125 00
Furniture and fixtures,	500 00
Loans to co-workers,	2,843 77
Taxes unexpired,	171 55
Cash,	144 29
	<b>\$224,134 61</b>

**LIABILITIES.**

Bond issue,	\$139,650 00
Mortgage payable,	6,500 00
Notes payable,	11,000 00
Certificate of deposit,	2,245 00
Cooperative exchange deposits,	69 25
Store members,	429 00
The Great Department Store deposits,	4,486 36
Members' deposits,	211 74
N. H. Branch deposits,	2,009 03

Surplus Fund:

Industrial College Fund,	1,189 94
Health Resort Fund,	237 61
Founders' Fund,	8,221 45
Pension Fund,	34 20
Contingent Fund,	15,280 00
Reserve Fund,	32,621 03
	<b>\$224,134 61</b>

**Report of Co-operative Stores.**

THE TWELFTH biennial report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, Part I., is a monograph on The Co-operative Store in the United States, by Ira B. Cross. Mr. Cross goes into the history of the co-operative movement in the United States very briefly indeed, making mention of about a score of the more prominent efforts to establish store-keeping co-operation, nearly all of which are understood to have failed. Among the causes for the starting of co-operative stores, he cites farmer and labor movements, sentimentalism, socialism, and the growth of social solidarity. As causes for the failure of co-operative stores he discovers a larger list, chief among which seem to be lack of co-operative spirit and other lacks. But Mr. Cross is not utterly discouraged. He says:

"Many of these causes will be and are now being removed by the evolution of the industrial world. Co-operative leagues are organizing the movement upon a firmer basis than ever before. Experienced managers are being engaged by the co-operators to conduct the business for them. Wholesale houses for the co-operative systems exist in the Mississippi Valley and upon the Pacific Coast. But above and beyond all the rapid growth of social solidarity, the American people can not help to give the movement a more solid basis, a basis upon which in future years it will be possible, though not necessarily probable, that the greatest co-operative movement that the world has ever witnessed may be raised."

In the tabulated report given at the end of the account, three hundred and fifty-two stores are mentioned, with more or less data concerning each. These stores are located in the following states: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin. This is the most up-to-date bulletin on the subject, and credit is due to Commissioner Beck for bringing it before the public.

**The Rochdale Wholesale Company of California.**

AT THE last annual meeting of the directors of the Rochdale Wholesale Company of Oakland, California, six new local coöperative companies were admitted to membership. The manager's report showed the company to be in a prosperous condition, notwithstanding the earthquake calamity which with the attendant fire loss compelled the company to move from San Francisco to Oakland. The business of the last six months showed a net gain of \$1,853, which overcomes the fire loss, and with the apportionments paid in by the local companies restores the capital. Real estate recently bought has greatly enhanced in value. The company is getting an increasing trade in Oakland from non-members. Fourteen new organizations were formed in various localities of the State during the past year.

Stockholders in this company, regardless of the amount of stock held, can have only one vote. The shares are one thousand dollars each. Nine of these shares have been subscribed by individuals, and nearly one hundred by local Rochdale companies.

This is the only Rochdale wholesale in the United States, and it is a very important feature in the coöperative movement, for without wholesale stores the isolated efforts of local coöperative stores are greatly handicapped.

**The Napa Rochdale Union.**

MR. J. M. MOORE, in a letter to the *Co-operative Journal*, says that until the past year this company has been unfortunate in its management and sustained serious losses, but under the new management of 1906 there has been an increase in the business done of over \$8,000 and a net profit of \$1,897. As this gain did not quite pay the losses of the previous years the members voted unanimously not to pay any dividends this year but to leave it all in the business until all losses are covered.

**Healdsburg, California, Rochdale.**

THIS company began business in July, 1900, with a small membership which has steadily increased. The total investments have been \$7,046, and the net earnings \$5,760. Much of the money included in the first figure was only lately invested. Eighty-one of the shares held by members have doubled themselves by their earnings. The

extent of the earnings depends of course on the amount of the individual's trade. From the full list of the earnings of each of the 160 members we quote the following:

W. J. McClendon,	\$100 00	\$104 05
J. W. Gladden,	55 00	86 77
W. F. White,	100 00	125 96
W. M. Bell,	20 00	45 68
Mrs. S. Swaysgood,	5 00	68 47
C. Sarginson,	5 00	54 12
A. R. Gallaway,	100 00	108 57
G. R. Harrison,	25 00	44 72
J. W. Rose,	50 00	116 42
Mrs. Harmon,	100 00	69 52

**Corning, California, Rochdale.**

THE Rochdale grocery store at this place was organized in 1903 with 31 members. The present membership is 221 and the paid-up capital stock \$10,354. The store did a business of over \$60,000 in the year 1906 and distributed net profits of \$2,753. Capital stock is subscribed by members in shares of \$5 and multiples thereof. Mr. W. L. Spicer secretary of the company, says:

"I think that we, the people, are being forced into coöperation as a defense against the encroachments of organized capital, and as I think the Rochdale Coöperative System has proven the best and most successful tried so far, I am doing what I can to make it a success, and I believe, in fact I know, that the only things to make Rochdale stores successful are proper management and a loyal membership."

**Grangers Co-operating Again.**

THERE is a decided movement among the Granges toward real coöperation in one form or another. The Michigan State Grange has worked out a plan for coöperative buying and selling among the patrons, which has proved most successful. The State Grange authorized the establishment of a Grange information bureau, under the direct control of the committee on coöperation. To meet necessary expenses a fee of one dollar was fixed for each Grange in the State enrolled in the bureau. A monthly information bulletin is issued, and five copies sent to each Grange. In every enrolled Grange there is a bureau correspondent, who lists the produce for sale, and the wants of its members, and reports the same to the central bureau, and in turn the Granges are advised of prices on farm supplies of every sort. Any member of an en-

rolled Grange can list items free, and have all the benefits of the bureau's source of information. There are 3,500 names on the list. Last spring over \$11,000 worth of seed was purchased. One grange saved over \$35 on one car of cedar fence posts. One member bought a flock of sheep through the bureau. It is giving great satisfaction.

#### Iowa Farmers' Elevators.

ONE OF the most successful lines of coöperative effort in America is the organization of farmers' coöperative companies for the coöperative selling of their products. The farmers' coöperative movement in Iowa has in a short time reached proportions that command attention, and concerning which, something at least, should be known, even by the college professors.

Starting with the parent society at Rockville, Iowa, in 1889, it grew to seven companies in 1902, with a membership of nine hundred farmers, and a capital of fifty thousand dollars. In 1903, four new societies were formed, in neighboring Iowa towns. In these years the movement had to meet the fiercest opposition from the trust-builders, and their allies the railroads.

In the darkest days of 1904, when it appeared as though every terminal market would close its doors to the farmers' elevator consignments, representatives of the few farmer elevators then in existence in Iowa, met at Rockwell, and organized the Iowa Association of Farmers' Elevators. A few months later they met in Ft. Dodge, Iowa, to perfect their organization, there being represented there thirty farmer companies. From this beginning the coöperative grain business has grown, until to-day it controls the price of grain in the entire north half of the State. There are in operation and in the process of organization over one hundred and thirty companies. The growth of the movement in some localities has been phenomenal. In Cerro Gordo county, the home of the "farmers' elevator," there are now eight associations. Even more rapid progress has been made in other places. In Calhoun county the first association was formed in 1905. In July, 1906, there were fifteen coöperative elevator companies in Calhoun county with others in neighboring counties.

There is to-day invested in the coöperative grain and coal business in Iowa alone over

one million dollars, the capital stock being owned and controlled by about twenty thousand farmers. "This splendid impetus has been brought about," says the *American Co-operative Journal*, "by the awakening of the people to a realization of the intolerable conditions existing in their midst. The movement is just in its infancy. It holds unlimited possibilities for the future. It is the people's hope—the solution of the difficulty confronting the people of the grain-belt states, or for that matter those of any state."

#### The Farmers' Grain Company, Omaha.

THE Farmers' Grain Company is a corporation organized under Nebraska laws to enable farmers to coöperate in the selling of their grain. The authorized capital is two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each. Stockholders are limited to the ownership of one share each for each individual, thus placing all stockholders on an equality in the ownership and control of the company. Stock is not accessible, and sold only at par. It has its personal representative on the Kansas City Board of Trade, and the president, Mr. C. Vincent, owns a seat on the Omaha grain exchange.

#### A Coöperative Creamery.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the Stockholders of the Tulare (California) Coöperative Creamery, was held recently for the election of officers, and the reports for the year show the company to be in a prosperous condition. The company paid out \$246,000 to its patrons during the year 1906, an increase of more than \$100,000 over the previous year. Besides paying interest on the capital, and dividends to members, the organization provides a purely democratic system of industry for the dairy-men.

#### The Industrial Union.

MR. ANDREW McCONNELL of Birmingham, Alabama, is organizing the Industrial Union in Alabama cities. A charge of one dollar a year is made as a membership fee. The purpose of the union is to promote coöperative buying by securing wholesale prices for the consumer, to save middlemen's and retailers' expenses, which is, in effect, the saving made by the Rochdale stores. Discounts of from twenty-five to thirty per cent. are secured to

the members, and the Union collects two per cent. of the discount to cover expenses of management. In Gadsden two hundred families have joined the Union and discounts on all kinds of merchandise have been secured, averaging twenty per cent., and fifty per cent. on doctors' bills. It is claimed of this organization that it does not take the risk of failing as in a co-operative store, and that it does not give the chance for graft as did such enterprises as the old Farmers' Alliance.

#### The Canadian Co-operative Concern.

THIS is a general department store located at Hamilton, Ontario. Mr. J. P. Whelan is president and general manager. It is conspicuous among the larger commercial houses of the city. Its growth since its establishment, about a year ago, is marvelous; with its recent extension it has 18,500 feet of floor-space. It requires about 50 clerks. The stock is held mostly by farmers of the surrounding country. Mr. Whelan is a merchant of years of practical experience, and his ability and enthusiasm insure a certain measure of success. The stock of goods includes everything in groceries, clothing, home-furnishing goods, furniture, carpets, hardware, etc., a complete and varied assortment. We hope soon to receive the first annual report of this society.

#### Canadian Farmers Co-operate.

IN 1894 a movement was started in the apple-producing regions of the Dominion of Canada, to organize the farms for the co-operative marketing of their products. By consolidating shipments they at once got better terms from the railroads, and better treatment by the fruit-brokers. The next step was the opening of central packing-houses for each district, so as to enforce common standards of sorting and grading. The third step enforces a system of inspection of orchards for the best results. So efficient has this co-operative organization proven to the orchardists of Canada that there are now over thirteen thousand members representing ten per cent. of the apples shipped, ranging in value from two million dollars to four and one half million dollars a year.

#### Negroes' Co-operative Store.

THE REV. H. TAYLOR, pastor of the Shiloh Baptist Church (colored) of Elizabeth, New Jersey, has established a co-operative store

among the people of his parish along the lines of the successful co-operative organizations of negroes that are now so flourishing in various parts of Virginia and Maryland. These negroes have been wise enough to attend closely to the financial end of their co-operative enterprises and directly following upon the organization of a store they usually start to do their own banking and insurance business.

#### Hartford Co-operative Ice Company.

THE Co-operative Ice Company of Hartford, Connecticut, after making a brave struggle for independence, sold out finally to the ice-trust, with an agreement from the trust that members of the Co-operative were to purchase ice at \$3 per ton. Very soon, however, the trust began to charge them \$6 per ton and the members brought suit. The decision of the court just rendered holds the trust to its agreement.

#### Co-operative Farming in Europe.

FROM a report of the German consul in Belgrade, Consul General Richard Guenther of Frankfort derives the information that the co-operative system is making rapid progress among the farmers in Servia. At the end of June last there were 508 agricultural co-operative associations existing in that country. Of these 105 were established within one year. The total number of members is 17,858. The Central Union, representing these associations, last year expended \$53,000 for implements, seeds, etc.

Consul J. E. Dunning of Milan states that there are now a total of 222,000 farmers' leagues in the whole of Italy, including 43,000 in Sicily. The relative commercial importance of these leagues is increasing rapidly with every year, as is also their number.

At the close of 1905, 17,162 co-operative farming associations existed in the German empire, comprising a membership of over one million farmers; 16,230 of the above number of associations were confederated. Out of the 9,411 associations operating in Prussia, 6,059 facilitated credits to farmers, 776 attended to the supply and demand, and 1,728 to dairying. In Bavaria, 2,613 of the 3,294 associations furnish credits to agricultural undertakings, 234 to attend to supply and demand, 247 to dairying, and 200 to various other purposes, all however fostering

mutual assistance to husbandmen and thus redounding to their benefit.

The German coöperative associations of credit expend loans amounting to, on the average, from \$71,410,000 to \$73,340,000 annually. In 1905 the coöperative bodies

for the creation of demand purchased fertilizers, forage, seed, coal, and other items amounting to \$12,062,500. On the other hand the centers of supply and dairying realized over \$965,000 on their transactions.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## **"THE SECOND GENERATION."\***

### A BOOK-STUDY.

#### I. A GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE NOVEL.

**THE SECOND GENERATION**, David Graham Phillips' latest romance of American life, is in all essential respects his strongest and best novel. It is more finished from an artistic view-point, more comprehensive and definite as a social study, and more satisfying as a romance of life and love than any of his previous works; while its presentation of contrasting views of home life under the egis of plutocracy and of democracy is without question the best thing yet produced in American fiction. It is as strong and almost as realistic or true to life as one of Zola's masterpieces or one of Tolstoi's great romances while it is absolutely free from every suggestion or hint of the sensualism, grossness or coarseness which is the great blot on the works of Zola, and from the ascetism and extreme austerity of the great Russian's writings. It is a romance of present-day conditions in America, throbbing with the life which we know, see and feel, but which only the artist, the poet or the novelist—only the man of imagination, can so picture as to make us feel for the time that the author is dealing with real flesh and blood men and women that he has known and known intimately.

#### II. THE ART OF THE BOOK.

*The Second Generation* marks a decided advance in Mr. Phillips' writings when considered from the view-point of literature or as an art work. We have on several occasions noted what we considered to be a real defect in our novelist's writings—the making of one character overshadow or dwarf all other

personalities in the work. Thus in *The Plum-Tree* and *The Deluge*, for example, we have distinctly great or colossal figures that are among the best drawn characters in American fiction. But they are Gullivers among Lilliputians. They absorb the reader's interest and hold his attention so completely that he feels comparatively little interest in the other characters, especially when that interest is not intimately bound up in the fate of the dominating personality. The right relation of the characters is destroyed and the proportions are wanting. The romances lack background.

In this novel Mr. Phillips has overcome these defects in an admirable and artistic manner. True, we have a great dominating personality in the opening chapters of *The Second Generation*. Hiram Ranger is a colossal typical figure and while he is present in his physical person he overshadows all other characters; but almost with our introduction to this true, sincere, and wise American of the old school, we hear the solemn fiat of the learned physician: "Set your house in order," and the hour soon comes when the great man passes from the stage, leaving his children and their companions to fill the boards. Still, such has been the impression of the character of Hiram Ranger made upon the mind of the reader, such the art of the novelist throughout the subsequent chapters, that this colossal figure is ever present, though so subordinated as to let the other characters take their proper places and largely engross the interest of the reader. Here we have a truly artistic treatment. The proportions are preserved. The great spirit permeates the story and broods over the chief characters, and as in the opening chapters, so in the closing lines, Hiram Ranger's personality is dominant. But dur-

\* "The Second Generation." By David Graham Phillips. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 334. Price, \$1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

ing the unfoldment of the romance it is present more as a pervasive influence, and so heightens instead of detracts from the interest of the leading characters in the romance.

The author also at all times makes the interest of the reader in his characters a paramount consideration. He gives a vivid and striking picture of certain phases of present-day social and business conditions; he drives home vital truths and impresses great lessons but this is always done in such a way as to add to rather than detract from the interest in the story.

### III. AS A SOCIAL STUDY.

Heretofore Mr. Phillips has been content for the most part with revealing in a faithful and graphic manner present-day political, business and social conditions that are inimical to democracy and destructive to the moral integrity of the individual. Thus in *The Plum-Tree* we have the most faithful and realistic picture of present-day political conditions under the mastership of the "interests" or the plutocracy, which owns the political bosses and directly or indirectly manipulates the party machines, that has been written.

In *The Deluge* we have an equally powerful and truthful picture of the methods of the master-spirits of our commercial feudalism, who in Wall street, the citadel of the plutocracy and high finance, operate those colossal and diabolical "confidence games" that are the scandal of the Republic, gambling with stacked cards, and who, through stock-watering, inflation and depression of stocks, and the control of public utilities, are able to plunder the millions of producers and consumers while crushing competition and reaping immense wealth coming and going.

*The Plum-Tree* and *The Deluge* take us behind the curtains in American politics and the world of high finance, and reveal all the odious practices and secret methods of the plutocracy in its double rôle of master of American politics and of finance.

In *The Cost* we have vivid glimpses of the plutocracy at work, both in politics and in Wall street. In these and most of his other books the author's master-purpose has been to familiarize the American readers with the facts—the serious and alarming facts—that are threatening the life of the Republic.

In *The Second Generation* Mr. Phillips has gone farther. With the skill of a surgeon he inserts the lance and lays bare one of the great

eating cancers in the body politic; or, to change the figure, he uncovers the *débris* around the reservoir of democratic government and shows one great stream of poison whose influence is contaminating the Republic. Nor does he stop with this. It is important to throw the searchlight on the hidden sins and dark places where the plutocracy works in secret, and show the public the enemies of a democratic republic busily engaged in destroying free institutions for individual advancement and enrichment; it is important to definitely point out the different streams of death that are poisoning the reservoir of democracy; but it is also important to show the demands of the hour, and in the present work our author first pictures in a most striking manner the destructive influence of inherited wealth, in that it injures the moral and frequently both the mental and physical fiber, of those who come into possession of money they do not earn; while its influence tends to create the curse of classes, placing one body of citizens completely out of touch with the millions of wealth-creators and in every way fostering conditions that are inimical to democratic government.

Next he shows that through honest coöperative work and through educational methods that shall make every child pay for his schooling by labor with his hands in some industrial pursuit that shall be productive and useful in character, the right relation of the young in regard to work and to each other will be established and the old order will be reinstated.

Joaquin Miller in his beautiful social vision, *The Building of the City Beautiful*, shows that most of the avoidable misery and social inequality in the world to-day arises from man's attempt to evade the carrying out of the first great law of God, said to have been uttered as the gates of Eden were closing against the awakened man and woman: "In the sweat of thy face—not in the sweat of the face of another—shalt thou eat bread till thou returnest to the ground."

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, the greatest living physical scientist of England and one of the most fundamental social philosophers of the age, in his masterly paper in the January ARENA, struck a telling blow at the inheritance idea which Mr. Phillips so clearly and forcefully elucidates in this novel. In showing how the railroads should be taken over by the people, Dr. Wallace in THE ARENA paper restates a demand which he made fifteen years

ago: that social justice and the requirements of free and equitable government make it imperative that all citizens of the State shall enjoy equality of opportunities; that, to use the great scientist's own words, "some social arrangement must be made by which the individuals may start in life with an approach to equality of opportunities." Dr. Wallace reinforces his position by quoting Herbert Spencer's law of social justice, which is that "each individual ought to receive the benefits and evils of his own nature and consequent conduct, neither being prevented from having whatever good his action normally brings him, nor allowed to shoulder off onto other persons whatever ill is brought upon him by his actions."

Dr. Wallace continues: "For it is quite clear that both Herbert Spencer's formula and my own imply, not only equal opportunities of nurture in infancy and education in youth, but also equal opportunities to earn a livelihood; and this absolutely forbids the inheritance of wealth by individuals. Private bequests, above what is sufficient to give nurture and education, must therefore be abolished, and the surplus used to give all an equal start in life. This economic equality follows from Spencer's law of social justice. For by inheriting exceptional wealth a person receives what is in no way 'due to his own nature and subsequent conduct,' be its results either evil or good. If, therefore, we accept Spencer's law of social justice as being sound in principle or adopt the formula of 'equality of opportunities' as being anything more than empty words, we must advocate the abolition of all unequal inheritance of wealth, since it is now shown to be ethically wrong, inasmuch as it dignifies unearned wealth and a consequent life of idleness and the pursuit of pleasure as one to be admired, respected and sought after."

The method pursued by Mr. Phillips in presenting the two great economic facts—the demoralizing influence of the inheritance of great wealth, and the importance of each man being engaged in some useful and productive work—evinces consummate skill and reveals the fact that the author is not only a fundamental thinker and a democrat after the order of Jefferson and Lincoln, but that he has been a close and painstaking student of social and industrial conditions. The facts which he points out are of great importance to thoughtful and patriotic Americans at the

present time, and happily for the interest of the general reader, they are, as we have before observed, so woven into the web and woof of this story as to enlist the sympathies on the side of the great truths presented and increase rather than detract from the general interest in the romance.

#### IV. THE NOVEL AS A STORY.

The story opens with a fine pen-picture of one of the truly great Americans of the older day. Hiram Ranger in youth had been denied the benefits of the fine educational advantages that are the lot of most American boys and girls of our time; but he had improved the meager opportunities within his reach and what he lacked in intellectual education he made up in sturdy character, sterling moral worth and in tireless industry. He early mastered the flour-milling business and built up a fine trade in the old days before the railways and the thieving trusts and monopolies joined in their infamous conspiracy to ruthlessly destroy the men who were not in their secret and corrupt rings. When the business became so great as to require a coöperation, Hiram Ranger personally learned all parts of the industry so that he could make a flour barrel as well as the most skilled workman in the shop. He showed his men that he knew the work and that he regarded work as honorable and uplifting.

The opening chapter in the story introduces us to the grand old man whose personality permeates the romance. Hiram Ranger is a typical character, representative of the old American successful business man, who by honorable means, persistent industry and strict regard to business methods rose to a commanding position in the business world. Over against the father is presented the son, Arthur Ranger, who is also a typical figure, representing the newly-rich young man who goes to the great colleges of the East, gets into the society of other young men whose parents are very wealthy, and soon becomes the victim of a poisonous environment, reactionary in nature, inimical to democracy and destructive in its influence upon the moral fiber and essential manhood of its victims.

Hiram has just been repairing a piece of machinery that the men were unable to mend. When he emerges from under the great machine with which he has been working, he suddenly notices his son Arthur standing before him. The youth is dressed in the latest

extreme styles of the city. He is smoking a cigarette, and there is a supercilious smirk on his naturally manly face. The surprise of the father is as great as his disappointment is bitter at seeing his son becoming such a caricature of a man. He supposed Arthur was at college, but the boy explains that he has been "plucked" and so has come home. The truth develops, that the youth has become a member of that set of newly-rich men's sons who are the curse and disgrace of our great institutions of learning,—the young men who become fast, and with plenty of money are a distinctly demoralizing influence in the colleges of the present time. He has failed in his examinations and so has returned home, and, fearing his father's anger, he has stopped at Cleveland and brought Adelaide, his sister, home from a fashionable finishing school to be a buffer between him and his fathher's anger.

The daughter had always been the very apple of Hiram Ranger's eye. She had left home a beautiful, innocent and natural girl. She has returned like her brother, with head filled with the false and vicious ideas of the fashionable newly-rich who long for class-distinctions, entertain contempt for the ideals of their parents and for democratic simplicity and sincerity, and who love to patronize those who work and those they are pleased to characterize as "trades people." Adelaide has brought home with her a pet monkey to amuse herself with.

The astonishment and disappointment of the father with the change that has come over his children is too great for words, and just at this moment a terrible shadow settles over his being, for in lifting the great machines he has strained himself, and from that hour he experiences great pain in his body—pain so great, indeed, that he is led to consult a famous old physician in the city, who after an exhaustive examination frankly tells him that it will be best for him immediately to "set his house in order."

Mr. Whitney, the partner of Mr. Ranger, has moved east, and in addition to looking after the business of buying grain and lumber and selling the finished products of the mill, he has joined the "high finance" group, becoming one of the "insiders" among the great Wall-street gamblers who systematically play with loaded dice. He has acquired much wealth thus through indirection, in addition to the money which the great flour industry

has earned for him. His wife has developed into a woman of fashion, living an artificial and affected life—a life of pretence, in which she is ceaselessly endeavoring to ape the aristocrats of the Old World. The Whitneys have two children, Ross and Janet, and during the past two or three years these children have become engaged to the Ranger children, much to the satisfaction of their parents.

Hiram Ranger, shortly after he receives the fateful warning from the learned physician, has a slight shock of paralysis, and during his convalescence a neighbor in calling on him points out the fact that all the young people of the town who are waiting for their parents to die that they may inherit fortunes, are becoming worthless or worse than worthless. They are failures in life when regarded from any true standard of measurement; failures, indeed, from even the materialistic view-point of earning money. The one seeming exception, John Dumont, on examination is found to be no exception. He has acquired great wealth by using the wealth inherited from his parents, but he has done this, not by using it in such a way as to earn it legitimately, but by entering Wall street and engaging with the high financiers in rigging and working the market—in other words, in gambling with stacked cards.

These facts set the old man to thinking very seriously, and the frivolity, artificiality and lack of appreciation for sterling worth evinced by his own children leads him to bequeath his fortune to a local college, on condition that it shall be so used that those who are educated shall during their education learn some wealth-creating trade or work their way through college, so as to learn not only to do some useful labor, but also so that the recipients shall feel a real and sympathetic interest and kinship with all the workers and appreciate the essential dignity of labor, as should be the case in a free government,—aye! as must be the case in a genuine democracy. The wife is well provided for during her life, and the daughter receives two thousand dollars a year, but the son is given a lump sum of five thousand dollars and the opportunity to learn his father's business as his father had learned it, and later the chance to buy the business on favorable terms.

It was only after a desperate struggle that the father brought himself to practically disinherit his children. He wanted to do the easy thing, but he had in his being the stern

moral idealism of the old Covenanters, and his reason and conscience told him that the hope of his children lay in his taking the course he settled upon. The reason for his action is thus given:

"I make this disposal of my estate through my love for my children and because I have a firm belief in the soundness of their capacity to do and to be. I feel that they will be better off without the wealth, which will tempt my son to relax his efforts to make a useful man of himself, and would cause my daughter to be sought for her fortune instead of for herself."

When the father dies and the will is read, the two Whitney children, largely under the influence of their frivolous, worldly-wise and spiritually blind mother, break off their engagements with Arthur and Adelaide. The former goes to work as a laborer in his father's mill; the latter marries an old child-sweetheart who is a teacher in the school which has received Hiram Ranger's bequest. It is with the unfolding of their characters under the healthful stimulus of honest productive labor and the influence of a high-minded and genuinely noble-hearted young man who is a democrat to the core, that the book is chiefly concerned.

Arthur in time comes under the influence of a wonderfully beautiful and intelligent young woman who is a physician. The two grow together and become part each of the other, making an ideal union. The chapters devoted to the courtship of Arthur and Madeline are only less attractive than those that show the gradually expanding life and love of each after marriage, when each is a tower of strength to the other. Indeed, there are few chapters in modern fiction more beautiful or ennobling in influence than those concerned with the unfolding life of these two young people, especially after marriage.

With Adelaide and her husband, Dory Hargrove, the son of the president of the college, the life-story is far different. The girl from her early childhood had deeply respected young Hargrove and she knew he loved her; but she accepted his offer of marriage more through pique at being thrown over by her affianced lover, Ross Whitney, who weds an unattractive and selfish but immensely rich girl, than because of any real love she feels for young Hargrove. The poison-virus of soul-

destroying fashionable and reactionary life, that Adelaide had imbibed in the years at her finishing school, when she associated only with the children of the very rich, and the still more baleful influence of people like Mrs. Whitney and her son, whose only gods were self and gold, have distorted her whole view of life. She is out of key with the sane, true, wholesome and elevating democratic ideals which are the governing impetus in her husband's life. The beautiful-useful has far less charm for her than the beautiful-useless; and so for a time an insuperable barrier seems to stand between the husband and wife, while the temptations so rife in the world of the money-worshippers come to Adelaide during the absence of her husband in Europe. The story of the young wife's blind gropings for the light of happiness—blind, because of the fatal light that had environed her years when away from home—is told in a natural and deeply interesting manner.

Then there is a third love-tale in the work—a beautiful story, but with a sad ending. All these tales are so woven together as to develop and increase the interest on the part of the reader in the great ethical and economic truths impressed with the unfolding art of a young master.

Nor is this all. The contrasts found in the closing chapters are very suggestive. Here we have in bold antithesis the full-orbed happiness of Arthur and Madeline, of Adelaide and Dory,—the fitting fruitage of a union with love blossoming under the democratic ideals of life—the ideal of all for all, and the ghastly hollowness of the life of Ross Whitney and his mother, which is the natural fruitage of gold madness and the exaggerated egoism that is so markedly present in plutocratic circles. Seldom have we read anything more effective as showing the utter hollowness of the materialistic life of the dollar-worshippers, or anything that better illustrates the conscience-destroying and soul-dwarfing influence of an empty and selfish existence—an existence unillumined by any high, serious and noble purpose, than is found in the death scene of Charles Whitney and the family quarrel between mother and children over the fortune of the dead high financier.

*The Second Generation* is not only Mr. Phillips' strongest and best novel; it is the most virile and vital romance of the present year.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*Looking Forward.* By Philip Rappaport. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.00. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company.

THIS WORK is based on the theory of historic materialism or the progress of life, government and civilization by evolutionary law instead of by chance, caprice or some outside agency apart from orderly unfoldment in accordance with unerring cosmic laws. It is devoted to an examination of the origin and growth of the family and the State, special emphasis being placed on the status of woman. It is an extremely valuable book, because it is fundamental in character and rationalistic in method of treatment. There is, therefore, no appeal to emotionalism, sentimentality or prejudice that would tend to cloud the reason or obscure the unbiased judgment, as is the case with most volumes that deal with the status of woman. And whether one agrees with the author as to his premises or in regard to all his conclusions, no one, we think, can read the book without gaining a clearer, broader and better vision of many serious and complex questions that are confronting the civilization of to-day, such as the growth of the family and its relations, divorce, and prostitution. Moreover, the sincerity of the author and the clarity of his thought will impress all readers, even though they may not accept his premises. The book is one, therefore, that earnest men and women who think for themselves and who are interested in social, economic and political questions will find helpful.

Mr. Rappaport, in a clearly connected chain of reasoning, discusses the evolution of the economic structure of society and the influence of the economic situation on political and social institutions; the influence of economic conditions on the family and the status of woman; the evolution of State, government, and the family, and the different forms of social and family life that have obtained under different stages of civilization; divorce and why it is increasing; and prostitution and its chief contributory causes.

In his chapter on "The Family" Mr. Rap-

paport sketches the evolutionary history of family life and the gradual changes, marked by a rise in moral ideals as civilization advances. He does not, however, believe that present conditions are such as best to favor the ideal family or the perfect home-life, and he takes issue with popular theories at almost every step in his argument. Here is an example which occurs in his discussion of the home and the State:

"I do not fear to say . . . that I am not inclined to believe that a form of the family alongside of which such a fearful institution as that of prostitution is possible, can be the highest form of the family which the human race is able to evolve.

"We hear it frequently said that the family is the basis of the State. The idea is brought forth, principally, in arguments for more stringent divorce laws. However, it is not true, neither in theory nor in fact. Both, family and State, rest upon entirely different principles; the organization of the State rests on territory, that of the family on personal relations. While really the relation of cause and effect does not exist at all between the two, yet if one wishes to establish some such sort of relation, then the State is rather the basis of the family. The State prescribes the forms under which families may be legally established, the State determines the legitimacy or illegitimacy of offspring, and the State establishes laws of inheritance. It has the power to change the laws and precepts upon these matters without affecting its own existence and general powers. Upon the other hand, the family has not the least power over the State. In a certain sense the family is the creature of the State, in so far as the latter gives legal force to the prevailing moral sentiment, but in no sense whatever is it the basis of the state. The theory is probably an inheritance from the times when the family was considered an institution necessary for the production of soldiers for the king, and the raising of many children, especially boys, an act of patriotism. It is not the habit of modern mothers to display that kind of patriotism."

Very suggestive and illuminating is his dis-

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

cussion of why there is a lessening of the birth-rate under present economic conditions, and why so many people who should marry and who wish to marry cannot wed under the present régime. He also shows how deteriorating to the race and the individual is this prohibition induced by the stress of economic conditions. After giving some startling facts relative to insanity and suicide, he passes to another phase of the subject.

"The reader will have noticed," he observes, "that the forces of family deterioration, described so far, have not a directly destructive influence, but affect the family indirectly by preventing marriage. However, there are circumstances arising from our economic conditions which injuriously affect the family in the most direct way. Most potently is it done by the substitution of woman and child-labor for the labor of men. The astonishing proportion to which woman labor has grown is shown by the census of 1900. According to this, the number of persons in the United States employed in gainful occupations was 29,285,922, of which 23,956,115 were of the male and 5,329,807 of the female sex. I purposely avoid to say men and women because the numbers given include persons of ten years of age and over. It is a sad commentary on our economic institutions, that it was found necessary to include persons of so young an age. The ever-growing desire (call it economic necessity, if you choose, it will not alter its pernicious effect) for cheap labor tears not only boys and girls from the bosom of the family, but also married women and mothers. . . .

"I have no desire to become sentimental or pathetic, but I cannot suppress the thought that our economic institutions, in many instances, have the effect of wiping out all the moral effects of civilization, turn our hearts into stone and make us barbarians. Neither the savages of Africa nor those of Australia make their children work for the support of life. To find the institution of child labor one must go to Christian countries, where the people boast of their wealth, culture and refinement."

Our author, however, does not despair. Far from it. He is an evolutionist, and in closing his discussion of the family, he observes:

"Social institutions no sooner show signs

of a retrogression of their usefulness and of decay, than a revolution of the moral sentiment in reference to them begins to manifest itself, and their moral issue is questioned. The power of evolution is irresistible, and experience teaches us that its course in the production of forms has always been from the lower to the higher. Therefore, we may confidently expect that, whatever form the family will in some future time assume, it will stand on a higher plane than the present. It will be in perfect harmony with the future economic organization of society, as was the group family with the communism of poverty, or the patriarchal family with pastoral conditions, or as the monogamous family is with modern economic conditions, and it will be supported by moral views superior to ours."

In his discussion of divorce Mr. Rappaport is very sane and sensible. He does not believe that the morals of the individual or of civilization can be conserved by the State compelling two people to live together, as in effect it would do in many cases if no divorces were granted, after hate had taken the place of love or when one of the parties was a drunkard or a degenerate. He holds, and rightly holds, that children born into homes of hate, or of parents who are drunkards and degenerates, will most probably prove a curse to themselves and to the State. Space forbids our quoting as extensively as we could wish from this chapter. Here, however, are a few timely thoughts:

"When, many years ago, I entered into the practice of law, I made it, in a sort of moral enthusiasm, a rule, when a party wished to employ me for the purpose of getting a divorce, to try to effect a reconciliation. In several cases I succeeded, or thought, at least, that I had succeeded, when, to my utter dismay, I found afterwards that the parties had employed other lawyers and were divorced. It set me to thinking, and I came to the conclusion that there is far greater responsibility in playing providence than in acceding to the wishes of clients. And finally experience taught me that the resolution and the process of divorce, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, produce so much heart-rending agony that people would not resort to it, if in their misery they could find relief somewhere else.

"I am not in possession of any comparative statistics, but I am willing to admit that the number of divorces in America is considerably

larger than in Europe. To ascribe it to a lower state of morality, or a want of religious sentiment, or a lower degree of consciousness of duty, would be a great error. I believe that in intellectual and moral qualities, Americans compare favorably with any other nation. I would rather ascribe it to the superior democratical sentiment prevailing in the American people, so that the influence of caste-prejudice is smaller, that women are less willing to suffer brutalities from husbands, and have a higher regard for themselves; reasons which I consider anything but deplorable.

"Marriage is, by American law, considered a civil contract and up to the sixth century it was not in the Christian world held to be anything else. Prior to that time it was not considered that there was any religious element in it, church and clergy had nothing to do with it. . . . Beginning, however, in the sixth century, the church found it convenient, or necessary for its purposes, to force into marriage the element of religion, and in the seventh century it was by the council of Trent declared a sacrament. Prior to the sixth century the clergy had nothing whatever to do with tying the marriage knot. More than a thousand years afterward, government again commenced to consider marriage a civil contract only, and to disregard the religious element, artificially infused into it by the church. Many if not most of the European governments are in advance of us in this respect and recognize only solemnization of marriage before a civil officer, without taking any knowledge whatsoever of religious ceremonies or solemnization by a minister, leaving that altogether to the sentiment or conscience of the parties.

"Moral sentiment and law allow only monogamous marriages. So far, so good. As there can be no absolute freedom of contract, it is right and proper to guard the interests of society by proper legislation in not allowing persons not considered of discretion, such as minors, insane persons, and idiots and also persons within certain degrees of blood relationship to enter into the contract of marriage. But, provided persons are within the law, what possible interest can the State or society have in the conclusion or dissolution of the contract of marriage? Of what difference can it be to the State or society whether A is married to B, or to C, or to D, and of what benefit or injury can it be to the State or so-

society whether A and B remain in a state of marriage or not? Of course, it is of interest to the community that the divorced wife and her children be properly supported by the husband and father and do not become a burden on the community. But if the husband and father has property, the court can enforce such support; if he has no property, but has a conscience, he will support them of his own free will, as well as he can; and if he has neither property nor conscience, the law is powerless with or without divorce. Any punishment meted out to a conscienceless husband and father will not buy a morsel of bread for the abandoned family. What rational ground then exists for the State to interfere, except so far as it is necessary for it to become the arbiter between the parties in reference to matters of property and the custody of their children, if they are unable to agree upon these points?

"Granted that the marriage bond is sacred, whether considered so in a religious, poetical or sentimental sense, it seems to me that with the loss of mutual love, affection and respect, all sanctity of the marriage-tie is gone. With love and esteem the marriage state is paradise and bliss, without them it is torture and barren of anything that is good. Love and esteem, however, cannot be made to appear and disappear at will. What is more humane, to compel husband and wife who have ceased to love and respect each other, to continue in a state of marriage, in which case the want of love must necessarily grow into hatred, or allow them to separate? What kind of morality must necessarily result from a union which is no longer based on those affections the existence of which alone justifies marriage and lifts the attraction between human beings of different sex so far above animal instinct?

"I confess I am unable to see what society profits or what public morals gain by not permitting parties who are unhappily married and who wish to dissolve their union, to do it quietly and decently by a method as simple as that of marriage instead of compelling them to ventilate their troubles before the eyes of the public and make their marital relations and domestic affairs a subject of common gossip to the disgust of every decent person and the pleasure only of the scandal-monger. If they were able to agree between themselves in all matters concerning them, where is the

advantage to society and morality of disregarding the delicacy of feeling of the parties, of outraging their sensibilities and of forcing them either to confess or be convicted of some act of brutality, meanness or impropriety before allowing them to do what they consider necessary for their happiness and from which nobody else suffers, or which is nobody's else concern? Whatever one may think of Hester Prynne, standing on the pillory with her babe in her arms, she certainly is an object of pity; but the sanctimonious officials who put her there, and the gossips staring at her and wagging their tongues, are absolutely repulsive."

The chapter dealing with prostitution and its causes is very thoughtful and worthy of serious consideration.

"There can be no question," says our author, "about the moral sentiment in reference to prostitution. Through all the centuries of its existence moral sentiment has become more and more inimical to it without being able to expurgate it. Consequently there must be a force in human society stronger than the moral force. Undoubtedly there are cases of perversity and uncontrollableness of natural impulses, but such cases are not numerous enough to account for the fearful extent of prostitution. Such cases excepted, I doubt whether a single prostitute can be found who would not a thousand times prefer a life of decency and respectability to a life of shame, if she were not prevented by the adversity of economic conditions.

"It is in the difference of the economic conditions where we have to search for the reason of the absence of prostitution among savages and barbarians and its presence in civilization. There was no place for it in a society which had no economic classes; it cannot exist where there are no rich and no poor. The tribal relations and the gentile organization with its communistic arrangements offered no soil for the growth of that detestable institution. Nor would the form of the family existing then permit of its appearance. The soil was prepared for it with the introduction of private-ownership in land with all its economic and social consequences.

"Mr. Alvin S. Johnson, assistant professor of economics at Columbia University, . . . says: 'In the first place there is a large class of women who may be said to have been trained for prostitution from earliest childhood. Foundlings and orphans and the off-

spring of the miserably poor, they grow up in wretched tenements, contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lowest forms. Without training, moral or mental, they remain ignorant and disagreeable, slovenly and uncouth, good for nothing in the social organism. When half matured, they fall the willing victims of their male associates, and inevitably drift into prostitution.'

"The prostitute is the helpless victim of modern economic conditions.

"The primary cause of prostitution is in the economic system. Newspapers may write against it, clergymen may preach against it, sociologists and physicians may point out its dangers to society and public health, lawmakers and police officials may unite their efforts in attempts to regulate or suppress it, it will all be in vain as long as our present economic system lasts. Because an economic system which results in a condition of wealth and extreme poverty side by side, in a condition of extreme precariousness of existence for millions of people, especially women, and in a condition which produces a steady decrease in the number of marriages by reason of positive or relative inability to support a family, is bound to produce prostitution. Even if the death penalty were meted out for it, that could no more prevent prostitution than in the time of Queen Elizabeth the hanging and branding of vagabonds could prevent vagabondage. And just as in the Middle Ages vagabondage, as produced by feudal institutions, was the prolific source of prostitution, so it is in our times the cheerless, uncertain and generally hopeless condition of the wage-workers, as produced by modern economic institutions."

The concluding chapters, dealing with the State, the modern economic system and the sweep of events, are highly suggestive, and, indeed, the whole volume is richly worth a careful perusal.

---

*The Silent War.* By John A. Mitchell. Illustrated by W. Balfour Ker. Cloth. Pp. 221. Price, \$1.50. New York: Life Publishing Company.

If *The Silent War* had been written by Emma Goldman or Eugene V. Debs, the author ere this would have been anathematized from coast to coast and even might have been

put behind the bars as an enemy of the republic. This would not have been because the book "advocates" anything of an incendiary nature, but because from the pen of an anarchist or socialist, it would have been construed as "advocating" incendiariasm. But the book is written by Mr. John A. Mitchell, unassailable according to the most rigid standards of respectability, editor of *Life* and author of previous works possessing all the charm of the modern "best-seller."

The character of the source therefore, while adding special significance to the work has caused the reviewers to handle it somewhat gingerly. To repeat, the book does not advocate anything, but it takes cognizance, as its name indicates, of what many are interested in concealing, the irrepressible conflict between two classes of society, the capitalists and laborers. Neither is the book a treatise on the subject, but it emphasizes with rare skill many of the salient features of that conflict in a way which shows that the author has delved deeply into the underlying laws of our social and industrial organizations. With this as a basis, he projects his fancy into the future and pictures a possible melodramatic result. It is this fanciful picture which warrants the hypothesis at the beginning of this review.

In short, as the author suggests in his preface, the book is intended to attract the attention of the plutocrats and the financiers of our country to the vital questions of the day and warn them that unless they get off the backs of the poor, they will be thrown off and thrown off none too gently.

*The Silent War* is no more impressive as a warning than it is interesting as a romance. The interest of the reader is aroused at the very beginning and held in leash throughout until the final denouement.

No less notable than the text are four handsome illustrations by W. Balfour Ker. The illustrations are connected with the text only in that they treat of the same subject, the struggle between laborers and capitalists. They are examples of that rare art for which one feels safe in predicting a long life.

ELLIS O. JONES.

---

*The Port of Missing Men.* By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 400.

Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS story deals with a young Austrian nobleman, son of the Prime-Minister Von Stroebel, and his adventures in the Old World and the New. The boy when small had disappeared with Prince Karl, the heir-apparent to the Austrian throne, and the Prince's son Frederick Augustus. The Prince and his son had later died in Canada, confiding to the son of Von Stroebel, who had taken the name of John Armitage, a number of important papers, not the least of which was one divulging the fact that Francis, the supposed son of Karl, was not his son, and that the Prince had left Austria after finding out the unfaithfulness of his wife. This paper John Armitage turns over to his father, the Prime-Minister. As the son, however, refuses to enter the service of Austria and take again his real name, the father dismisses him in anger. The paper is subsequently stolen from the elder Von Stroebel. The son again meeting his father and learning of the theft, sets out to capture the thief, whom he believes to be one Chauvenet. Incidentally both Armitage and Chauvenet have fallen in love with a beautiful Virginian by the name of Shirley Claiborne, who at the time the story opens is traveling with her brother, a young army officer, throughout Europe. The father is an eminent American diplomat and lawyer. Suddenly the news comes that the great Prime-Minister has been assassinated, and Armitage sets to work, after the manner of D'Artagnan and other Middle-Age swashbucklers, to capture the villain, whom he shrewdly suspects to be the same person who stole the paper. After a spirited engagement in which he makes discoveries that confirm his suspicions and reveal the fact that Chauvenet and his confederates are the real assassins of Von Stroebel, he recovers the stolen paper and sails for America on the same vessel on which the Claibornes return. From this time on love and adventure of the Stanley Weyman variety fill the pages of the book.

This tale not only lacks the element of probability that gave strength and a certain charm to Mr. Nicholson's earlier books, *The Main Chance* and *Zelda Dameron*, but it is wanting in the cleverness of *The House of a Thousand Candles*.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**T**HE HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE VIRGIN BIRTH: The great and growing interest of thoughtful people in all religious denominations concerning the newer and broader interpretation of the Bible has been much stimulated by the general discussions growing out of the recent trial in which Dr. CRAPSEY was tried for heresy. The trial brought out the fact that during his entire ministry of more than a quarter of a century Dr. CRAPSEY's life had been spent in doing good, in striving to follow as faithfully as possible in the footsteps of the Great Nazarene; and the widespread sympathy expressed by leading members of the Episcopalian denomination, from Bishop Cox down, with the views held by Dr. CRAPSEY, gives added interest to his conception of the truth. Whatever views he may entertain in regard to the Virgin Birth, no one can read Dr. CRAPSEY's paper in this issue of *THE ARENA* without being impressed with the fact that the author is a profoundly religious man, an earnest seeker after the truth and a scholar who is thoroughly convinced of the truth of his contention.

*Recent Humanistic Legislation in New Zealand:* Mr. EDWARD TREGEAR, as most of the readers of *THE ARENA* know, was one of the strongest and most trusted of the constructive statesmen who enjoyed the confidence of the late Premier, RICHARD SEDDON. He has been a leading spirit in the successful campaign carried on for the past sixteen years by the Progressive Democratic or Liberal party of New Zealand, which brought the Commonwealth out of the depths into a state of unrivaled prosperity. This paper deals with recent progressive legislation, including the new State homes being erected for workingmen of small means, by which they are enabled to enjoy light, airy, wholesome and commodious homes and to purchase the same on the installment plan. The interest in the paper is increased by the illustrations of architects' plans for the State homes which accompany the paper.

*Henry Demarest Lloyd: Messenger:* All friends of fundamental democracy and humanitarian progress will prize Mr. EGGLESTON's luminous and informing sketch of the life, labors and ideals of the great social reformer, HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD. It would be difficult to overestimate the value to the cause of progressive democracy of the life-work of this fine scholar, this man of wealth and culture, who consecrated his energies to the cause of human progress and the fundamental principles of democracy. He was a careful, conscientious thinker, a journalist of rare ability, and his first two notable works were clarion calls to the sleeping conscience of America, awaking it to the perils of advancing plutocracy in such a manner that the warning could not be ignored. After writing *A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners and Wealth vs. Commonwealth*, Mr. LLOYD devoted his life to studies of constructive victorious work along democratic lines. He visited New Zealand, Great Britain and Continental Europe and made studies of inestimable value. We understand that Mr. LLOYD's sister is preparing a life of her noble brother, a volume which will be eagerly awaited by thousands of Americans who have been helped into the light by Mr. LLOYD's life and writings.

*Two Important Papers on Municipal-Ownership in Great Britain:* In his paper Mr. H. GARDNER MCKERROW has, we believe, made the strongest case against municipal-ownership in Great Britain that has appeared in any magazine contribution. He has marshaled such reports and facts as seemed favorable to his view of the question and such data as apparently reinforced his contentions, with consummate skill, summoning to his aid the testimony of such special-pleaders for private-ownership as the London *Times*, Professor ROBERTS and Professor HUGO MEYER. In presenting this paper *THE ARENA* gives, we believe, the ablest presentation of the views of those who oppose municipal-ownership that has yet been prepared in a similar compass.

Professor PARSONS' reply is only half as long as Mr. MCKERROW's paper, but it is a masterly refutation of the claims and contentions of the preceding paper. Professor PARSONS is a complete master of this subject, having made two visits to Great Britain, during which time he exhaustively studied public-ownership in all its phases, his last visit being recently made as a member of the Committee for the Civic Federation. The Committee was composed of both friends and enemies of public-ownership, and all views, unfavorable as well as favorable, that could be obtained were presented.

*Emerson the Anarchist:* A paper of genuine interest and value which will be a feature of *THE ARENA* for April is from the strong and always suggestive pen of BOLTON HALL, one of the strongest advocates of the Single-Tax and human liberty in America. Like all Mr. HALL's writings, this paper bristles with thought that will stimulate serious thinking, thoughts that are germinal and vital. It is a paper that will attract general attention.

*Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey and the Recent Heresy Trial:* This paper, by Mr. HARRIS ADDISON CORELL, the talented State Editor of the Buffalo *Evening News*, gives a graphic pen-picture of the life and work of Dr. ALGERNON S. CRAPSEY, and a vivid picture of the recent heresy trial and its aftermath.

*The Influence of Language Upon Socialistic Organization:* We call the special attention of our readers to the extremely thoughtful and suggestive article on *The Influence of Language Upon Socialistic Organization*, by WARREN DUNHAM FOSTER. It is one of the most valuable discussions on the influence of language on national and international ideals that has appeared in years, and incidentally it reveals a fact that persons who carefully study the sweep of events are continually impressed by: it shows how outside influences contribute to the apparently irresistible impulsion of world ideas. Here we see that the Russian government, by forcing different peoples to give up their language for a common Russian tongue, is removing one of the chief difficulties in the way of union of separate and often warring factions among the Socialists; and this illustration is typical of events that are occurring in America as well as Europe and which are contributing to the sweep of co-operative currents, in spite of the desire of those who are thus unwittingly aiding the onward march of co-operation.